

A STUDY OF THE MEDICAL THEORY OF THE HUMOURS  
AND ITS APPLICATION IN  
SELECTED SPANISH LITERATURE OF THE GOLDEN AGE

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### Declaration

This thesis has been composed by me, and the work is my own.



## ABSTRACT

This study begins with a description of the four humours, showing how they were held to affect the workings of the body. While a severe humoral imbalance makes for illness in an individual, a slight predominance of one of the four humours over the other three influences a man's character, thereby accounting for individuality of temperament. The appearance and character of the four humorous types are described with details collected from various works. Some sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish works, both theoretical and practical, on the subject of the humours and their link with physical health, appearance and character, and the phenomenon of intelligence, are considered. The grotesque character type, or figura, is examined in connection with the humours, and a detailed study is made of don Domingo de don Blas, of Alarcón's play No hay mal que por bien no venga, as a phlegmatic type, and Diana, of Moreto's El desdén, con el desdén, as a melancholic type. There follows a discussion of melancholy and its various causes, which concentrates especially on the illness of love-melancholy, its symptoms and cures. The character of don Quijote is studied; he is classed as a melancholy madman, and the cause, symptoms and cure of his madness are discussed. Next, there is an examination of some of the works of various authors, particularly those of Tirso, Rojas Zorrilla and Calderón, which contain characters who, because of a preponderance of bile, are evilly inclined. The versatility of the theory in relation to each of the major authors studied is discussed in conclusion.

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<p>ELEMENT: FIRE</p> <p>QUALITIES: HOT + DRY</p> <p>YELLOW CHOLER</p> <p>CAUSED TO PREDOMINATE BY NORTH WIND IN ASCENDANCY DURING YOUTH, SUMMER, 9 AM - 3 PM.</p> <p>CAUSING ANGER AND LUST</p> <p>RULED BY MARS AND THE SUN</p> <p>CHOLERIC SIGNS:</p> <p>ARIES - MAR/APRIL</p> <p>LEO - JULY/AUG</p> <p>SAGITTARIUS - NOV/DEC.</p>	<p>ELEMENT: AIR</p> <p>QUALITIES: HOT + WET</p> <p>RED BLOOD</p> <p>CAUSED TO PREDOMINATE BY EAST WIND IN ASCENDANCY DURING CHILDHOOD, SPRING, 3 AM - 9 AM.</p> <p>CAUSING JOY AND LOVE</p> <p>RULED BY JUPITER</p> <p>SANGUINE SIGNS:</p> <p>AQUARIUS - JAN/FEB</p> <p>GEMINI - MAY/JUNE</p> <p>LIBRA - SEP/OCT.</p>
<p>ELEMENT: EARTH</p> <p>QUALITIES: COLD + DRY</p> <p>BLACK MELANCHOLY</p> <p>CAUSED TO PREDOMINATE BY WEST WIND IN ASCENDANCY DURING MATURITY, AUTUMN, 9 PM - 3 AM</p> <p>CAUSING FEAR AND SCREW</p> <p>RULED BY SATURN</p> <p>MELANCHOLY SIGNS:</p> <p>CAPRICORN - DEC/JAN</p> <p>TAURUS - APRIL/MAY</p> <p>VIRGO - AUG/SEP</p>	<p>ELEMENT: WATER</p> <p>QUALITIES: COLD + WET</p> <p>COLOURLESS PLEGM</p> <p>CAUSED TO PREDOMINATE BY SOUTH WIND IN ASCENDANCY DURING OLD AGE, WINTER, 3 PM - 9 PM.</p> <p>CAUSING NO PASSIONS</p> <p>RULED BY THE MOON AND VENUS</p> <p>PLEGMATIC SIGNS:</p> <p>PISCES - FEB/MAR</p> <p>CANCER - JUNE/JULY</p> <p>SCORPIO - OCT/NOV</p>
<p>ELEMENT: MUNDUS ANNUS HOMO</p> <p>Sicco cellidus ignis: aestus, cholera rubra.</p> <p>Cellidus humidus aer: ver, sanguis.</p> <p>Humidus frigida aqua: hiems, phlegma.</p> <p>Frigida siccus terra: autumnus, melancholia.</p> <p>(San Isidoro, De Natura Rerum, XI, 3)</p>	

FIG. I: THE FOUR HUMOURS, THEIR QUALITIES, INFLUENCES, AND TIMES OF ASCENDANCY

## CHAPTER ONE: THE THEORY OF THE HUMOURS

Literature, in order to be appreciated fully, can never be studied in a vacuum. The reader of modern literature can enhance the meaning of a work by drawing on his personal knowledge of life in this century, of prevailing trends of scientific and ethical thought, and of conduct. The writer, in his turn, takes for granted his readers' general knowledge, and leaves unsaid things which he feels to be obvious. It is easy to forget that social conventions, like clothes, change as the fashion demands, and that new scientific discoveries result in a constant modification of theories. So it is that, when a person comes to read a work of a bygone age, he is not fully equipped for his task, because he is lacking the background, panoramic knowledge which the contemporary reader would have had. Those who study the works of other eras, therefore, in order to appreciate these works as they should be appreciated, must equip themselves artificially with those prevailing ideas which coloured the view of the contemporary reader and writer.

The ancient medical theory of the humours no longer holds a place in our view of medicine and the study of character, and is relegated to historical surveys. For this reason, a study of the theory in some works of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish writers must be preceded by an outline of the theory itself, for until we have familiarised ourselves with its workings and understood its implications we cannot hope to appreciate the role it plays in literature.

In the same way as the first portion of this study is justified by the help which its contents give to the rest, so too is the study as a whole, or at least its intention, justified by the light which it casts on to certain, otherwise hidden, aspects of literature. For a

knowledge of the workings of the humours, for more than two thousand years, was fundamental to an understanding of man in sickness and in health, and of his place in the universe. Most importantly, however, from the point of view of this study, the workings of the humours accounted for man's temperament or character, and therefore for much of his behaviour.

The theory of the humours was formulated by the Greeks, and was handed down unchanged in essence until modern scientific methods emerged to refute it. During the Spanish literary Golden Age it still held sway, and its chief exponents were still regarded, if not as supreme authorities, at least with a great deal of respect. To attempt a chronological account of the system would therefore involve a great deal of pointless repetition; while to confine myself to the original authorities, without including the later commentaries, would not be convincing evidence of the prevalence of the theory in later times. My method, therefore, is to follow the trends of thought, rather than an historical sequence, which will at once make the theory emerge more clearly as a whole, and emphasise its unchanging nature.

## I. THE FORMULATION OF THE THEORY

In examining the origins of the theory of the four humours, we find that the ancient Greeks' ideas on cosmology and man's place in the universe held as important a place in its formulation as their medical observations. The theory is pervaded with the notions of the relationships which were thought to exist between the macrocosm and the microcosm, or the universe and man, and between man's body and his soul. The link was harmony, while discord broke the

connection and caused chaos.

Anaximander, a Milesian natural philosopher who flourished in the sixth century B.C. was, as far as we know, the first person to try to devise a cosmological system.<sup>1</sup> He visualised the universe as being formed from an unlimited mass into perceptible qualities of heat and cold. According to him, the world was a cold, moist mass separated from an enclosing circle of fire by a layer of mist. His younger contemporary, Anaximenes, rationalised this theory a little more. The unlimited became aer, or an invisible atmosphere consisting of air held in the delicate balance of an even distribution of particles. When the balance was altered, the aer would either become more dense or lighter in quality. By a process of condensation, the aer turned to mist, which then cooled to form water, and then solidified to form earth and stones. By a process of rarification, the aer became hotter and dryer, and formed fire. By the sixth century B.C., then, the universe had acquired its theoretical composition of the four elements of earth, air, fire and water, which were closely linked by their shared qualities of cold and heat, dryness and moisture. Each element partook of two qualities, thus: earth was held to be cold and dry, air was hot and moist, fire hot and dry, and water cold and moist.

At the same time, in Crotona, there flourished Pythagoras and

1. For individual biographies of Anaximander and Anaximenes, see the New Encyclopaedia Britannica, fifteenth edition, 30 vols (Chicago 1977), Micropaedia I, pp.345-346. For more detailed surveys of man in relation to his universe, see Francisco Rico, El pequeño mundo del hombre, Editorial Castalia (Madrid 1970), and R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy (London 1964).

the Pythagorean school, who did much to build up the picture of the universe which endured for so long. Two of their notions are especially pertinent to the development of physiological thought: the first, the idea of harmony, and the second, their preoccupation with numbers in general and the number four in particular. These ideas both served to link man with his universe. For the Greeks, harmony was essential to the well-being and correct functioning of the universe, and of man's soul and his body. The musical intervals which provided the harmony included the fourth; and the number four provided the base upon which many notions were built. Rational man, for example, was considered to be made up of the four principles of the brain, the heart, the navel and the phallus. His soul was composed of the four faculties of intellect, understanding, opinion and perception. To these tetrads were added the four elements, the four seasons, the four six-hourly periods of the day, and the four winds; all of which were to be intimately connected with the four humours.

These ideas of harmony and of the link, through the four elements, between the cosmos and the individual were taken up in the fifth century B.C. by two more philosophers from Crotona; Empedocles and Alcmaeon.<sup>2</sup> Empedocles, the Greek philosopher, statesman, poet, religious teacher and the founder of the Italian school of medicine, applied the cosmological theory of the four elements, as propounded by Anaximenes, to the microcosm of man's body. He maintained that

2. For a biography of Alcmaeon, see Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia I, p. 208: for a biography of Empedocles, see Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia III, p. 879. Also see Ricó, El pequeño mundo, and Klibansky, etc., Saturn and Melancholy.



the body, like the universe, was made up of the four elements of earth, air, fire and water. The mixing of these elements accounted for the making of different parts of the body: bone, for example, consisted of two parts of water, two of earth and four of fire.. Both the body and the universe were moved by the two opposing forces of Love and Strife. Love caused the elements to mix together into an harmonious mass, while Strife caused them to separate out into layers. Empedocles attached importance to the idea of the mingling of the elements in the body, and at the same time accounted for the fact that different men have different talents, by explaining how the elements were more or less well mixed in different parts of different bodies, according to how much Love prevails. A man would become an orator, for example, if the elements which made up his mouth and larynx were perfectly mixed. The philosopher and physiologist Alcmaeon developed these ideas a little more when he spoke of physical health as being an equal blend, or harmony, of the bodily components, while disease was to be regarded as the preponderance, or "monarchy", of any one ingredient.

The cosmological and theoretical notion of the four elements as bodily components became identified with the prevailing medical idea, based upon observation, of the four humours; and the notions of disease and health were linked with those of Strife, or Love and harmony, through the workings of these humours. R.G. MacFarlane explains that

the Greeks related their theory of disease to the fact that the blood separated into layers when obtained from sick patients, the four humours being represented by these separated parts of the blood. The sedimented red cells can be divided into a dark or "melancholic" humour and a red or "sanguine" humour, depending on the degree of oxygenation, while the upper cell-free (i.e.

whitish) constituted the phlegmatic and the supernatant serum (i.e. yellowish) the choleric humour.<sup>3</sup>

Hippocrates, in his treatise On the Nature of Man also links the workings of the four humours with health and disease:

the body of man has in itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, these make up the nature of his body, and through these he enjoys the most perfect health when these elements are duly proportioned to one another in respect of compounding, power and bulk, and when they are perfectly mingled. Pain is felt when one of these elements is in defect or excess, or is isolated in the body without being compounded with all the others.<sup>4</sup>

In this most influential treatise, Hippocrates lays the foundation stones upon which the ancient theory of the humours is based. The four elements, earth, air, fire and water, have become identified with the four humours; melancholy, blood, choler and phlegm. The link between them is never lost, for the body is always identified with the universe, in its sharing of the qualities of heat and cold, dryness and moisture. Earth and melancholy are both cold and dry; air, like blood, is hot and moist; fire shares with choler the qualities of heat and dryness; while water and the phlegmatic humour are cold and moist. The universal forces of Love and Strife are reflected in the body by the opposing forces of health and disease which are governed by the balance of the four humours, or the preponderance of one humour over the other three. Because they are the key to sickness and health, the

3. 'Reactions of the Blood to Injury', in Lectures on General Pathology, edited by Howard Florey (London 1954), pp. 24-25.

4. Hippocrates, On the Nature of Man, Hippocrates IV, edited and translated by W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (London 1931), p. 11.

humours are of the utmost importance to the study of medicine and of man.

## II. THE BODY AND SOUL

In order to understand the effect which the humours can have on man's physical and mental faculties when they are not functioning perfectly, it is necessary first to study their spheres of influence: the body and the soul. The theory which I am about to outline was formulated by the Greeks, and remained largely unchallenged until the seventeenth century. The most influential exponent of the theory was Galen, a Greek physician of the second century A.D. who, although a great physician in his own right, was chiefly known for his exhaustive medical writings, many of them commentaries on earlier works, and especially on the ideas of Hippocrates and Aristotle. The medical curricula at universities throughout the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance consisted mainly either of Galen's commentaries on the works of other doctors, or commentaries by other doctors, such as Avicenna, on the works of Galen. The Spanish medical treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, were, like those from other countries, largely unoriginal.

According to this theory, man's body and soul are tripartite, and closely linked together, the body housing the soul's activity.<sup>5</sup> The lowest type of soul, which is not peculiar to man, but possessed

5. Three important treatises on the soul are (i) Aristotle, De Anima, edited by R.D. Hicks, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge 1907); (ii) Avicenna, A Compendium on the Soul, translated by Edward Abbott van Dyck (Verona 1906); and (iii) Juan Luis Vives, Tratado del alma (De Anima et Vita), in Obras completas, 2 vols, Aguilar (Madrid 1947-8), vol II. This treatise first appeared in 1538.

by all living things, is known as the vegetable soul. Its functions are fourfold; 'the first attractive, the second retentive, the third digestive, and the fourth expulsive'.<sup>6</sup> Its seat, in man, is in the liver; and it presides over the lowest portion of the body. When food is taken into the body, it is digested, not once, but several times. The first digestion, or concoction, as it was then called, takes place in the stomach, where the food is converted into a liquid substance known as "chyle". This chyle is next carried to the liver, which, after a second digestive process, excretes the food in the form of the four humours, which are then sent round the body to perform their various functions.<sup>7</sup> The Spanish doctor Juan de la Torre y Balcárcel, whose Espejo de la philosophía y compendio de toda la medicina theórica y práctica is a typical synthesis of ancient medicine, gives an account of the appearance and function of each of the four humours.<sup>8</sup> In a correctly balanced, that is, healthy body, blood

(De habitu et constitutione corporis)

6. Levinus Lemnius, The Touchstone of Complexions, translated from the Latin by T.N. (London 1633); first translated in 1576, p. 14. Although Lemnius was a Dutch physician, his works were known in seventeenth century Spain. Lemnius is mentioned by Juan Eusebio Nieremberg and by Pedro Alexandro de Arresse y Ontiveros: also see Lope de Vega, El bobo del colegio, in Biblioteca de autores españoles (henceforth BAE) I, Act III, p. 198c; 'si quisieres ver/ de mil naciones y pueblos/ la calidad, y en España/ la condición que tenemos,/ del uso de astrología/ leerás a Levinio Lemnio'.

7. See O. Cameron Gruner, A treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, including a translation of the first book (London 1930), p. 77 (which is Avicenna Canon, Book I, Part I, Thesis IV, The Humours); and Galen, On the Preservation of Health, Book V, chapter I, in A.J. Brock, Greek Medicine (London and Toronto 1929), pp. 240-241.

8. Juan de la Torre y Balcárcel, Espejo de la philosophía y compendio de toda la medicina theórica y práctica (Amberes 1668), Tratado 8, ff. 25-30. De la Torre here cites Galen as his source.

is produced in the largest quantity. It is 'caliente, húmeda, dulce, rubia, sin mal olor', and its purpose is to nourish the body. Phlegm, which, because of its cold, moist nature, is thought to be a badly digested, raw, or "unconcocted" form of blood, is produced in less abundance. Phlegm is 'frío y húmedo, blanco, igual, sin sabor, ni olor', and, when it is not converted into blood, it feeds the cold, moist parts of the body and keeps the joints flexible, preventing them from becoming brittle. The two bilious humours, choler and melancholy, are produced in much smaller quantities, because of their strength and bitterness. Choler, which is the hottest humour, 'seco, amargo, con alguna mordacidad', distributes the blood through the veins, enabling it to nourish the hot and dry parts of the body. It also stimulates the expulsion of waste-matter from the body; and its excess is stored in the gall-bladder. Melancholy or black bile, 'un humor grueso, negro, azedo de sabor, frío y seco', has the functions of nourishing the cold, dry parts of the body, and of stimulating the appetite. Because of its highly toxic nature, most of this humour is stored in the spleen, and is only released into the blood-stream in limited quantities.<sup>9</sup> The second concoction, which takes place in the liver and which produces the four humours, also produces the spirits. These spirits are of a simple, that is, indivisible substance, finer in nature than that of the humours; and their function is to flow through

9. Vives also describes the functioning of the four humours in the first part of his Tratado del alma, ch. xii, Obras, II, p. 1178, thus: 'la sangre co-opera a la saludable irrigación del cuerpo por donde se exhalan las emanaciones, como salubres y frescos airecillos emanan de ríos y de fuentes. La bilis negra sirve para contener y reprimir los aires ambulantes, a fin de que, demasiado enrarecidos por su sutileza, no se desvanezcan más de lo que al cuerpo conviene. La bilis amarilla sirve para la cocción de los humores sobrantes y para excitar el cuerpo, que no quede sumido en el sopor. La pituita es un alimento de ígnea avidez y a modo de freno que impida se arrebatan de golpe todas las cosas'.

the body and form a bridge between the physical and the spiritual. There are three spirits, corresponding to the three divisions of the body and soul. The first spirit to be formed is the natural spirit, which is concerned with the smooth functioning of everything that has to do with the vegetable side of man, and is correspondingly under the dominion of the liver. Some of this spirit, however, travels upward to the heart, where it undergoes a further concoction or distillation proper to the sensitive soul.

The sensitive portion of the body is the upper torso, wherein resides the seat of the sensitive soul; the heart. The sensitive, or sensible soul, as it is sometimes called, is possessed by both men and animals, and consists of external and internal faculties. This part of the body and of the soul is maintained by the vital spirit, which is the result of the distillation, taking place in the heart, of the natural spirit, and which bears the life-giving properties of heat and moisture. Its suspension, or drying-up, causes death; for 'one must admit that the living creature is naturally moist and warm, and that life too is of this nature, whereas old age is cold and dry, and so is a dead body'.<sup>10</sup> To the sensible soul pertain the faculties of outward and inward perception: of receiving outside impressions, sorting them out, and storing them. The faculties of outward perception are the five senses, familiar to us, of touch, smell, taste, hearing, and sight. An impression conveyed by one or more of these senses to the sensible soul will be received and interpreted by the Common-Sense,

10. Aristotle, Parva Naturalia. On Length of Life, edited by W.S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass. 1935), p. 397, 466a, v.

and passed on to the Imagination or the Memory, the other two inward sensible faculties. These three faculties of Common-Sense, Imagination and Memory are situated, not in the heart, but in the brain. The perceptive and retentive powers of the sensitive soul have a servant, or motion-promoting power, that they may use in response to external stimuli.<sup>11</sup> This power is provided by the humours. Each humour, when conveyed to the heart for this reason, triggers off a different type of passion in response to a stimulus from the Imagination, although there are, broadly speaking, just two categories of passions.<sup>12</sup> The first is that of joy and the passions derived from joy, such as hope and courage. Joy is a warm passion which, in heating the heart, causes it to expand, sending the blood coursing round the body. An excess amount of joy could have dangerous consequences, for 'the heart being left destitute of blood, and vitall spirit, fainteth, shrinketh, and is dissolved'. Grief, on the other hand, like fear and despair, is a cold passion, which chills the heart and makes it contract, whereby 'the heart is oppressed with too much abundance of blood, and the vitall spirit choaked and stopped'.<sup>13</sup> Either type of passion, then, can result in death unless it is alleviated in some way, either by

11. Avicenna, On the Soul, ch. 5, p. 48.

12. For descriptions of the types of passions, see Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, edited by A.R. Shilleto, 3 vols (London 1926-27), vol I, p. 297. Under the heading 'Division of Passions', Burton explains that Aristotle listed the passions under the headings of pleasure and pain, Plato under the headings of Love and Hatred, and Vives, under those of Good and Bad (Tratado del alma, Book III). The Thomists defined the passions as being either Irascible or Concupiscible. The headings of pleasure, or joy, and pain, or sorrow, are best suited to the humoral theory, because the passions can be divided into the categories of hot and cold.

13. Both quotations from Lemnius, p. 96.



rational control, or, physically, by indulging in a fit of sighing or tears. Another physically dangerous aspect of the passions is that the heart, in feeling two conflicting passions at the same time, can literally be torn apart.

The two hot humours, blood and choler, would be summoned to the heart to enable that organ to experience the hot passions. The sanguine humour helps the passion of joy, while the choleric humour moves one to experience lust, or heated anger. To the cold melancholic humour pertain the passions of sorrow and fear; while the phlegmatic humour, owing to its cold and moist nature, is incapable of stirring up any passions at all.

The heart is generally considered to be the most important organ in the body; firstly, because it generates the heat vital to life, and secondly, because it is the seat of the passions. However, whereas in animals the passions are subordinate to nothing, in man they are subordinated to his brain, the only organ of the upper part of his body, and the seat of the rational soul. The rational soul, which is only to be found in man, and which sets him above all other earthly things, is linked to the rest of his body by the animal spirits. These are the finest of all the spirits, and are distilled in the brain from the vital spirits which have been sent up from the heart. They are sent through the hollow nerve tubes by the desires of the brain to whichever part of the body they are needed.

In possessing a rational soul, man is not only able to experience feelings of joy and pain, but can also discriminate between good and evil. Thus, man is distinguished from vegetable and beast by a sense of what is right and wrong, and by the ability to choose the path he



wishes to follow, rather than having to follow his own instinct. The rational soul contains two faculties, known as the Wit and the Will, one of which is passive, and the other active. The Wit is passive, but is able to perceive things clearly. It relays its conclusions to the Will, which is an active faculty, but blind. The Will is the rational appetite which pursues good and avoids evil, guided by the Wit.

The three mental faculties of Understanding, Memory and Imagination each require different conditions in order to function well.<sup>14</sup>

Understanding is aided by the quality of dryness, as Heraclitus, an oft-quoted source, said: 'splendor siccus, animus sapientissimus'.<sup>15</sup>

Memory, on the other hand, can not function without moisture, which explains why children, who are hot and moist of temperament, can always learn things easily by heart. The memory was thought to be like a sort of tablet which had to be of a fairly yielding texture in order to take the imprint of the Imagination, which acted like a seal. In the dryness of old age, the texture of the memory becomes too hard to accept the imprint, so that old people, while they can remember things which happened long ago, no longer have the capacity to record the more immediate events. The day is a miniature life-cycle: in the morning, the memory is impressionable because it has been moistened by sleep, but the exertions of the day dry it up so that, by evening, it is almost useless. The two faculties of understanding and memory, then, are mutually exclusive, the one demanding moisture,

14. Juan Huarte de San Juan, Examen de ingenios para las ciencias, edited by Rodrigo Sanz (Madrid 1930), edición comparada de la príncipe (Baeza 1575) y sub-príncipe (Baeza 1594), ch. v of 1575/viii of 1594.

15. Huarte, Examen, p. 139.

and the other, dryness. Imagination, on the other hand, functions at its best with the aid of heat. Delirious people, in the heat of fever, say many strange and original things.<sup>16</sup> Poets, in the throes of invention, clutch their fevered brow. Huarte de San Juan explains that 'siendo la frenesía, manía, y melancolía pasiones calientes del cerebro, es grande argumento para probar que la imaginativa consiste en calor'.<sup>17</sup>

The lesson inherent in this brief description of man's make-up is that man's body and soul are completely interdependent, and that the rational soul, while being supported by the rest of the body, is the supreme director of man's actions. The rational soul is maintained physically by the workings of the vegetable soul, which feeds it and supplies it with the raw material for the animal spirits; and emotionally by the sensitive soul, which transmits to the brain impressions, ideas, and sensations, particularly those of pleasure and pain. In its turn, the brain, ruled by the rational faculties of Wit and Will, imposes discipline on the body and the two lower souls. The body is told how to maintain the warmth and moisture which are vital to life, and the emotions, born of the impressions received from the outside world by the sensitive soul, are subjugated to the reason, whose sole aim is the pursuit of good and the avoidance of evil. Sometimes the wishes of the sensitive soul may clash with those of the rational soul, for what is bad is not always unpleasant, while the pleasant is not necessarily right and good. In such cases, the

16. Huarte, Examen, pp. 112-123.

17. Huarte, Examen, p. 143.

choice of the rational soul must prevail. The supremacy of the rational soul not only affects the other functions of the human body and soul, but also man's surroundings: for, as man, alone on earth, possesses a rational soul, and therefore a sense of good and evil, he is the supreme ruler over other earthly things.

### III. PARTICULAR INFLUENCES

Just as man's soul is dependent for its maintenance on the workings of the body, so too is the body dependent on its environment; for it needs food and drink, and air to breathe, in order to stay alive. The balance of humours in the body is not an innate and unchanging factor, but is produced, as we have seen, by the manufacture by the liver of digested food into the correct proportions of blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy. These perfect proportions, however, are only achieved when the correct amount and type of food is eaten, and when a body is living in special circumstances: in other words, in theory. In practice, because no-one can live in a vacuum of time and space, and no two people live in an identical fashion, no two humoral proportions will be the same; and in every case, one humour will predominate over the other three. This infinite variety can therefore be categorised under four headings, corresponding to the four humours. Thus, a man in whom blood predominates is known as sanguine, one with an excess of yellow bile becomes choleric; one with an excess of phlegm is known as phlegmatic, and one with an excess of black bile is melancholic. Blood will predominate when some feature of the body's life style has given rise to too much warmth and moisture; phlegm is a result of coldness and moisture;

while a hot and dry habit forms choler, and a cold and dry habit, melancholy. While it is impossible for anyone to possess the perfect humoral balance which makes for Alcmaeon's "health", only a severe imbalance makes for actual illness. A slight predominance of one of the four humours, however, influences a man's character. Temperament is accounted for in this way by the balance of the humours.

Because man is susceptible in this way to his environment, a preoccupation with the latter arose very early on, with works by Hippocrates and Plato. The various environmental factors were gradually categorised and examined with regard to the humours. In Renaissance works, these categories were formalised under the heading of the "six non-natural things", that is, the 'ayre that encloseth us, meat and drink, exercise and rest, sleep and watch, evacuation and retention, and the affection of the mind'.<sup>18</sup> Apart from these, other factors, such as a person's sex and age, contributed to the varying balance of the humours.

#### Sex and Age; the Seasons and the Day

According to the old physiological theory, woman is considered to be an imperfect form of man. Vives, in his Tratado del alma, explains that 'pequeña es la diferencia entre los sexos, pues la hembra no es más que un macho incompleto, porque no reunió la justa medida del calor'.<sup>19</sup> Avicenna had stated in his Canon of medicine that 'the

18. Lemnius, p. 74. Another source of information about the six non-natural things is Diego de Torres Villaroel's Medicina segura para mantener menos enferma la organización del cuerpo, y asegurar al alma la eterna salud (Madrid 1730). This edition has no page or folio numbers.

19. P. 1157.

female is of colder temperament; that is why the female is smaller than the male. The female is also moister'.<sup>20</sup> This moisture accounts both for the frequency of women's tears, and for their inability to be angry for prolonged periods; for anger is a choleric passion which calls for the qualities of heat and dryness. The female qualities of cold and moisture indicate that she is naturally phlegmatic in temperament, and that she is an imperfect form of man, just as phlegm is an un concocted form of blood.

Man's temperament changes during his lifetime as his body grows to maturity and into old age. Man is born a hot and moist creature, but these life-giving qualities change until he reaches the cold, dry state of death. The life-span of a man can be divided into four periods, each one corresponding to a different set of qualities and temperament.<sup>21</sup> The first period is one of growth, and is called adolescence. This period, which lasts from birth until the age of thirty, is dominated by the qualities of heat and moisture, and the sanguine humour; and the emphasis is on physical growth. Between the ages of thirty and forty, man is considered to be in the prime of life, and in this period of beauty his body is dominated by the choleric, hot and dry temperament. After the age of forty, man's physical vigour begins to decline, as the temperature of his body cools down. The period of senescence, which lasts from the age of forty until that of sixty, is dominated by the cold, moist phlegmatic humour; and that of

20. Avicenna, ed. Gruner, p. 75, section 63.

21. Avicenna, Canon, ed. Gruner, p. 68, section 51. Not everyone agrees with this division, but it is generally agreed that children are hot and moist; old people cold and dry. De la Torre, Tratado IV, f. 14, has the five ages of niñez (1-7 years), juventud (7-18), adolescencia (18-35), consistencia (35-50), and vejez (50 until death). Huarte, Examen, p. 81, has the same divisions, taken from Hippocrates.

decrepit age, or senility, lasts from the age of sixty until death. This last period of life, where the body becomes cold and dry, is correspondingly dominated by the melancholy humour.

Echoing man's life-cycle is the yearly cycle of the four seasons; echoing that, again, is the shorter cycle of the day and night, which is again divided into four periods. Spring, the first season of the year, is dominated by the qualities of warmth and moisture which are most conducive to new life and healthy growth. During these months, then, the rising of the sap in the earth is reflected in the predominance in man of the sanguine, hot and moist humour. The heat and dryness of summer causes a predominance of the choleric humour, which is replaced in autumn by an upsurge of cold, dry melancholy. Winter, the closing season of the year, when plants are dormant or dead, is echoed in the rising of the cold, wet phlegmatic humour.<sup>22</sup> In the tiny life-cycle of the day, the sanguine temperament is found to be dominant in man between the hours of 3am and 9am. Thereafter, cholera predominates between 9am and 3pm; phlegm between the hours of 3pm and 9pm; and melancholy for the rest of the night, between 9pm and three o'clock in the morning. The three similar cycles of man's age, the seasons, and the day, then, all record a progression from the life-giving qualities of heat and moisture, through their drying up and cooling down, to the cold qualities which are contrary to life.

'Ayre that encloseth us'

Different climates, as well as different seasons, make for the

22. It is to be noted that the humours predominating in the last two ages of man and the last two seasons are juxtaposed; there was some uncertainty as to whether phlegm or melancholy dominated old age.

predominance of different humours in the body. Hippocrates was much preoccupied with the effect of the environment on the workings of the body, and made a careful study of the geographical environment in his treatise entitled Airs, Waters and Places. Besides taking into account the different powers of each season, this treatise examines four different types of town, describing those winds which are common and those peculiar to the locality; the quality of the water, which point of the compass the town faces, the soil type and the stars, and thence discusses the character of the inhabitants and the particular diseases to which they are prone.<sup>23</sup> According to Hippocrates, a town which is open to the South wind makes for people who have an excess of phlegm in their bodies; while a prevailing North wind gives rise to a lot of yellow bile. A town favoured by the East wind makes for a much healthier, in other words a sanguine, population; while the West wind gives rise to cold, dry melancholy. The seventeenth-century Spanish doctor de la Torre, while not actually refuting Hippocrates, has a different viewpoint; for, according to his Espejo de la filosofía, the North wind is cold and dry, the South wind is hot and wet, the East wind hot and dry, and the West wind hot and wet (sic). Another Spanish writer, Torres Villaroel, considers the North wind (which Hippocrates thought to make for an excess of bile, and de la Torre, for an excess of melancholy) to be the most healthy, and the East wind (which Hippocrates thought to be the healthiest wind, and de la Torre held to be hot and dry) the next best.<sup>24</sup> However, although the precise characteristics

23. A.J. Brock, Greek Medicine (Being extracts illustrative of medical writers from Hippocrates to Galen) (London and Toronto 1929), pp. 51-71.

24. De la Torre, Espejo de la filosofía, f. 90; and Torres Villaroel, Vida natural y católica, section entitled Del aire.



of each wind cannot be agreed upon even by compatriots, the importance of a town's location is always upheld. St Thomas Aquinas, in his treatise On Kingship emphasises this point by stating that

in founding a city or kingdom, the first step is the choice, if any be given, of its location. A temperate region should be chosen, for the inhabitants derive many advantages from a temperate climate. In the first place, it ensures them health of body and length of life; for, since good health consists in the right temperature of the vital fluids, it follows that health will be best preserved in a temperate climate, because like is preserved by like. Should, however, heat or cold be excessive, it needs must be that the condition of the body will be affected by the condition of the atmosphere; whence some animals instinctively migrate in cold weather to warmer regions, and in warm weather return to the colder places, in order to obtain, through the contrary dispositions of both locality and weather, the due temperature of the humours.<sup>25</sup>

The location of an individual's home town affects not only his health and length of life, but also his character. Aristotle noted the political importance of this fact in his Politics, saying that

the nations inhabiting the cold places and those of Europe are full of spirit but somewhat deficient in intelligence and skill, so that they continue comparatively free, but lacking in political organization and capacity to rule their neighbours. The peoples of Asia on the other hand are intelligent and skilful in temperament but lack spirit, so that they are in continuous subjection and slavery. But the Greek race participates in both characters, just as it occupies the middle position geographically, for it is both spirited and intelligent.<sup>26</sup>

The fourth century A.D. Roman military expert Vegetius, who, together with this portion of Aristotle's Politics, is cited by Aquinas, offers a physiological explanation for this notion of national character and Greek supremacy. He explains that

25. St Thomas Aquinas, On Kingship, translated by Gerald B. Phelan, and revised with notes by I.T. Eschmann (Toronto 1949), pp. 68-69.

26. Aristotle, Politics, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London 1932), pp. 565 and 567. Also see Galen, On the Preservation of Health, in Brock, Greek Medicine, p. 240.



all peoples that live near the Sun and are dried up by the excessive heat have keener wits but less blood, so that they possess no constancy or self-reliance in hand-to-hand fighting; for, knowing they have but little blood, they have great fear of wounds. On the other hand, Northern tribes, far removed from the burning rays of the Sun, are more dull-witted indeed, but because they have an ample flow of blood, they are ever ready for war. Those who dwell in temperate climes have, on the one hand, an abundance of blood and thus make light of wounds or death, and, on the other hand, no lack of prudence, which puts a proper restraint on them in camp and is of great advantage in war and peace as well.<sup>27</sup>

Two considerations, then, arise from this conviction of Aristotle's that different climates make for different temperaments. The first is the subsequent importance of choosing the correct site for the founding of the city; and this subject is dealt with not only by Aquinas, but also by other writers. The Spanish Rodrigo de Arévalo, or Sánchez de Arévalo wrote, in the fifteenth century, a Suma de la política, where, quoting Aristotle, he stresses the importance of choosing a good site for a city: 'que sea temprado según las primeras y naturales qualidades del frío y caliente, úmedo y seco'.<sup>28</sup> The second consideration is that there arose out of this theory the notion of national character which remained more or less constant, although writers of different countries usually saw themselves as living in the perfect, temperate zone. Thus it is that Levinus Lemnius describes the men of Asia as 'shrinking at the least mishap that hapneth, and with the smallest grief and feare that can be, their hearts fail them, and they are white as a kerchief'.<sup>29</sup> Men from the North, on the other hand,

27. Aquinas, On Kingship, p. 70.

28. In Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV, edited by M. Penna, BAE, vol 116 (Madrid 1959), p. 256a. The Suma first appeared in 1455.

29. Lemnius, p. 20.

are bold, rude and fierce, on account of their thick blood and spirits. Spaniards are hot and dry in temperament, and as a result they are possessed of good wits, are rash, and heedless of danger.

It was appreciated that it was not always possible to choose the site of the city in which you lived, or indeed, to migrate like the birds described in Aquinas' treatise On Kingship, in order to avoid extremes of heat and cold. Every man, therefore, must be aware of the climate in which he lives, and mitigate its harshness as best he can. Cure is by opposites; that is, by the application of the two qualities which are lacking in the climate. For example, a hot, dry fire will help to temper the cold and wet of winter, and a man who keeps himself warm in this way will avoid becoming too phlegmatic in temperament. In summer, the air of itself can turn putrid when it is too hot, and can subsequently cause an outbreak of the plague. To avoid this unpleasantness, the air must be cooled and moistened, and the pavements sprinkled with water, not so much to settle the dust as to reduce the heat.

#### 'Meat and Drink'

Each item of food partakes of two of the elemental qualities of heat and cold, dryness and moisture, so that when it is passed to the liver in the form of chyle, it is concocted to form the humour which shares its two qualities. Fish, for example, is of a cold and moist nature, and it turns to phlegm. It is therefore very important for an individual to take care over what he eats and drinks, and to modify his diet according to his age, temperament, and the time of year; for one man's meat is another man's poison, and what may be beneficial in summer may be harmful in winter.

Hippocrates, in his treatise on Regimen in Health, explains how an equable temperament can be achieved by the application of opposite qualities, so that, as the seasons change, so too must the type of diet.<sup>30</sup> In winter, when the conditions are cold and wet, a hot, dry regimen must be followed. A man should then eat plenty of food, especially roast meat and bread; while cutting down on vegetables and liquid. With spring, the food should be softer, and the amount of liquid intake greater, while the heat and dryness of the summer months must be mitigated by a great amount of liquid, and small quantities of soft food, such as vegetables. Just as the diet for spring is a preparation for the summer months, so too is the regimen in autumn a preparation for winter; and the amount of liquid should be reduced, while the food should be drier in nature and more abundant in quantity.

The same kind of diet, gauged to counteract the prevailing heat or cold, should be applied according to age, habit, and dwelling-place. Maimonides, the celebrated twelfth-century Judo-Spanish doctor, who in his his treatise on The Regimen in Health gave dietary advice to King al-Afdal of Egypt, has many useful tips. He recommends the avoidance, at all times, of surfeiting, and of fatty foods, which engender too much phlegm. Meat should be of a weaker nature than man's flesh, so as not to overcome it; while fish should not figure largely on the menu, for 'most fish are bad nutrients, especially for those of humid temperament and for the aged'.<sup>31</sup> It was also stressed by

30. In Hippocrates, with an English translation by W.H.S. Jones, 4 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London 1923-31), vol 4.

31. Moses Maimonides, The Regimen of Health, translated by Ariel Bar-Sela, Hebbel E. Hoff and Elias Faris, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 54, Part 1V (Philadelphia 1964), p. 19.

dieticians that food of a hot nature, while beneficial to old people, is liable to be bad for the young. Maimonides advised that 'bees' honey is good for the old, but is contra-indicated for the young, and especially for those of hot temperament, for it will change into yellow bile'.<sup>32</sup>

Wine, symbolised by Christianity as the source of life, has always been thought of as an extremely beneficial drink, because it does indeed share the qualities of heat and moisture with life-blood. Its nutritive qualities make it especially desirable for old people, but its warm nature can make it harmful to the young: for 'young men are by nature warm and full-blooded, old men bloodless and cold. Therefore wine is useful to old men for changing senile coldness to the proper proportion of heat, while with adolescents it has the opposite effect; it overheats their effervescing and highly mobile natures, bringing about immoderate and excessive movements'.<sup>33</sup>

32. Maimonides, p. 19; see also Vives, Introducción a la sabiduría, in Obras, vol I, ch cxi, p. 1215. This treatise was first published in 1524. Vives here explains that 'no hay cosa que más daño haga al organismo joven en la comida y bebida que lo que de suyo es caliente, y les enciende y abrasa las entrañas; de allí se tornan demasiado bullangueros y descarados, de una ciega temeridad; pierden el seso y caen en mil locuras'.

33. Galen, On the Preservation of Health, p. 241. Torres Villaroel, Vida natural y católica, describes the potential of wine: 'el moderado vino corrobora las fuerzas, excita el calor nativo, templá los humores, purga por el sudor y la orina los excrementos más sutiles, ayuda el apetito, dispone la facultad concontriz, y recrea el ánimo, especialmente a aquellos que gozan una templada complexión. Al contrario, el uso indiscreto del vino daña todos los sentidos, y operaciones, oprime las fuerzas, entorpece la virtud, y vigor del ánimo, y para el cerebro es tan pernicioso enemigo como nos enseña la experiencia, induce temor, torpeza, pasmo a los miembros, causa principal de la apoplexia, parálisis, y muerte repentina'.

'Exercise and Rest'

Torres Villaroel emphasises how 'la mayor parte de la sanidad consiste en el discreto y oportuno ejercicio del cuerpo' because this exercise increases the natural heat which is so important for the maintenance of life and good health. He does, however, advise that it must be punctuated by periods of rest, for 'el mucho ejercicio debilita'. These periods of rest, again, must not be too prolonged, for they induce too much coolness and moisture, which atrophy the brain: 'el ocio porfiado nos hace perezosos, obesos, tristes, e inútiles para toda operación sensual ó intelectual'.<sup>34</sup> The amount of exercise and rest which it is advisable to take again depends on various factors, such as the individual's age, the time of year, and the time of day:

en el invierno se ha de hacer más ejercicio que en el verano, porque en este tiempo es mucha la copia de espíritus, que se exhala, y resuelve... por la mañana se ha de hacer ejercicio en los montes, y por la tarde en las riberas de los ríos, porque espanta las melancolías el clarísimo aspecto de las aguas.<sup>35</sup>

A man who is prone to an excess of melancholy or phlegm should try to take more exercise, so that its heating effect will mitigate his cold nature, while the excessively choleric or sanguine type will benefit from more rest.

It is important to understand that, to the doctors who expounded the ancient theory of the humours, exercise did not always mean physical exertion. Lemnius' ideas on the subject at first seem very funny, for he advises people of a cold disposition 'to bee carried in wagons,

34. Torres Villaroel.

35. Torres Villaroel.

or to be rowed in boats... walking either softly or apace'.<sup>36</sup> In his treatise entitled Vergel de los príncipes, Rodrigo de Arévalo, quoting from Aristotle's Politics, explains the importance of exercise and rest:

Todo ome, e señaladamente el rey o príncipe en quien más tiernamente la natura obró, trabajando continuamente en negocios de regimiento de su república, de necesario fatiga a su cuerpo e a su espíritu. Ca, como dize el sabio, los muchos e continuos pensamientos oprimen y debilitan non solamente al cuerpo, más aun el corazón humano e a sus potencias... pues ha menester algunt reposo e folganza delectable, interponiendo algunas honestas e solazosas delectaciones e deportes.<sup>37</sup>

At times, then, exercise is to be interpreted as diversion, or a rest from work. Rodrigo de Arévalo advocates especially the pursuits of arms, of hunting, and of music, all of which serve to warm the body by stirring up the vital spirits, whether by physical or mental stimulus. The latter was used by doctors to moderate the extremes of illness, as Isidore pointed out:

dize Isidoro en las Ethimologías: la modulación musical es medicina para las enfermedades e males corporales e spirituales. Ca fortifica los nervios y los miembros, e repara los sesos e los pulsos e venas del cuerpo, e aun todas las otras partes spirituales resciben singular recreación e mantenimiento de la tal armonía, e da fortaleza e vigor a los flacos e enfermos. Ca, entre las otras grandes virtudes de la dulce armonía es una muy singular: que tempra los movimientos interiores e asosiega a los arrebatamientos e bollicios del corazón, e así provoca a dormir, en lo qual principalmente consiste la sanidad del cuerpo del ome.<sup>38</sup>

Thus is Pythagoras' harmonious music reflected in the tempering and correct functioning of the human body and soul.

36. Lemnius, p. 84.

37. P. 313b. Also see Lemnius, p. 84.

38. Rodrigo de Arévalo, Vergel de los príncipes, p. 338a-b.

'Sleep and Watch'

The amount of sleep in which a man indulges, and the number of hours he spends awake, or 'watching', in a day, greatly affect the balance of humours in his body. Sleeping allows for the resting of the animal faculty, and the refreshing of the brain: 'es el sueño un recogimiento del animo en si mismo, y descanso de las facultades animales, vacación, y carcel de los sentidos exteriores, y un local movimiento que proviene de una útil humedad, que riega, y humedece el cerebro, que la induce, y dispone á una dulcísima quietud'.<sup>39</sup> While the five exterior senses are sleeping, the interior faculties remain awake, giving rise to dreams. The body's strength and spirits, released from waking duties, can concentrate in the area of the vegetable soul, and digest the food which lies in the stomach, and convert the well-digested chyle into pure humours.<sup>40</sup> Too much sleeping, however, is harmful, for it moistens the body excessively, and makes for a surplus of phlegm, which 'hace a los cuerpos... flojos, perezosos, lentos, y quita la rapidez del ingenio'.<sup>41</sup>

While sleeping causes the body to become moist, wakefulness causes it to dry up. Sleep is necessary, therefore, for the daily recharging of batteries. A man who sleeps too little will have a tendency towards a dry, and therefore bilious, temperament. A prolonged lack of sleep has a detrimental effect on an individual's digestion:

39. Torres Villaroel.

40. Because sleeping was considered to aid digestion, it was actually believed that it fattened the body. Burton cites the example of dormice and other hibernating animals, to illustrate this point; see The Anatomy of Melancholy, vol II, 2/5 p. 114.

41. Vives, Introducción a la sabiduría, cxxi, p. 1215.



' la vehemente vigilia resuelve, y seca los espíritus, impide la cocción, y deja cruda la comida, y la bebida'. <sup>42</sup>

'Evacuation and Retention'

Evacuation and retention have to do with the correct expulsion of waste matter from the body, in the form of excrements. 'When retention and evacuation are equally matched, and occur at the proper times, they are beneficial, and maintain the health'. <sup>43</sup> If evacuation is excessive, the body becomes colder and drier in nature; while a holding of excrements in the body causes putrefaction and subsequently disease. Bleeding, a method of evacuating putrid or excessive humours, has a cooling effect on the body, and should therefore be performed in the morning, when the body is dominated by the hot and moist sanguine humour, and is best able to take the strain. Another form of artificial evacuation is that of purging. The two hot humours, blood, of an airy nature, and choler, of a fiery nature, can be dispersed and purged from the body without too much trouble. Rhubarb, for example, was thought to be an excellent purge for choler. Phlegm and melancholy, the two cold humours, present more of a problem, and melancholy, having an earth-like quality, was thought to be especially hard to shift. An old person with a tendency towards melancholy would be advised, for example, to take baths, whose hot, wet qualities would counteract the cold, dry humour, and encourage it to flow more freely and to leave the body, if necessary, in the form of sweat.

Another form of evacuation which has a cooling, drying, and therefore debilitating effect on the body is the sexual act. Sperm is

42. Torres Villaroel.

43. Avicenna, Canon, section 398, p. 230.



manufactured from the sanguine humour, and while 'el uso legítimo, y discreto de la venus, es una expurgación mui dulce, y saludable a los cuerpos', for it prevents the sperm from putrefying and thus poisoning the body, in excess it 'resuelve los espíritus, entorpece la vista, el cuerpo, y el ánimo, apaga el calor natural, daña el cerebro...'.<sup>44</sup>

The manufacture of sperm, in other words, uses up too much of the sanguine humour, deprives the body of its warmth and moisture, and leaves it cold and dry. Because the cold and dryness of the melancholic humour is proper to old age and similar to death, a man who indulges in venery too much will become old before his time, while an old man may die as a result. A chaste man, in order not to become ill, must curb his sanguine humour, so that sperm, which would only putrefy in the body, will not be manufactured in the first place.

'The affection of the mind'

It has already been explained how the passions are formed in response to a stimulus from the sensitive faculties of the brain, and how they are used or curbed by the faculties of the rational soul, to the ends of pursuing good and avoiding evil. The passions, then, are both physical and mental phenomena. However, although the passions are aroused, in the correct order of things, in response to a mental stimulus, they are sometimes aroused inadvertently as the result of a humoral imbalance. If, for one reason or another, one particular humour has been manufactured in excess of the other three, and, in wandering around the body, makes its way to the heart, it can trigger off a type of 'false alarm' which causes the heart to experience one or other of

44. Torres Villaroel.

the passions which is aroused by that humour. It will also cause an individual to be aroused to a particular type of passion much more easily than is normal. Thus, whereas a man of balanced temperament will only feel an emotion which is caused by an external event, a man who suffers from a humoral imbalance, whether it be caused by the time of year, his age, or his diet, will be prone to certain moods which have no external or reasonable cause. When the source of a passion stems from the brain and is caused by an external event, a man, while being moved by one particular humour, cannot be said to be dominated unreasonably by that humour, for his mood has its roots in a rational cause. Thus, a man whose purse has been stolen has a right to feel the passion of anger, but he cannot be said to be an irascible type. When choler is in excess in his body, however, and moves him constantly to feel an unreasonable anger, he is then classified as a choleric person, because his anger has no reasonable cause. In this case, his mind is dominated by his body, and acts on a physical and emotional level, and the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain become his principal goals.

A humoral imbalance, combined with the arousal of the various passions, forms the basis of differing temperament. A person whose body is dominated by blood, in other words, a sanguine man, will be prone to the warm, moist passions of joy, desire and hope. The hot and dry qualities which are productive of choler in the body also incline the heart towards hot, dry, feverish passions, such as courage, boldness, lust and anger. The cold and dry nature of the melancholic temperament make a person prone to the passions of sadness and fear; the phlegmatic temperament is sluggish and passionless.

Whether the passions are triggered correctly by the faculties, or incorrectly by a humoral imbalance, they affect the workings of the body to a great extent. The draining of the blood into the heart with the cold passions, and away from the heart with the warm passions reveals itself in the changing colour of the face and limbs. Trembling and pallor are natural concomitants of fear, while one can literally 'glow' with pleasure. A person who experiences the hot, choleric passion of anger and who exclaims "my blood fairly boiled!" would not be striving for colourful effect, but rather stating a medical fact. The cold, dry passion of fear, when experienced for a prolonged period or in concentrated bouts, can age a person prematurely. If a man is frightened enough, he can grow old overnight. Two doctors tell of a man who is imprisoned overnight, awaiting punishment, and who is unrecognisable the next day: cold, shrunken and white-haired.<sup>45</sup>

Because an excessive emotion can thus harm the individual who experiences the emotion, not to mention anyone who stands in the way of his goal, the passions must be curbed both by the exercising of will-power and the balancing of the humours. A man must take care not to experience one type of passion for a prolonged period, as that which begins merely as a mood turns easily into a habit.

#### The influence of the stars

In addition to what were known as the 'six non-natural things' (see page 16), the movements of the stars were thought to have great influence over an individual's humoral balance, and a knowledge of

45. Lemnius, p. 95; also see Oliva (or Miguel) Sabuco, Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre, fourth edition (Madrid 1728), p. 33. This work was first published in 1587.

the art of astrology was felt to be of tremendous importance to an insight into temperament, the correct cure for disease and the preservation of health. Each planet and each sign of the zodiac was considered to rule over a certain humour and a certain area of the body, so that a day-to-day knowledge of the movements of the planets meant that a person could be guided in his endeavours.<sup>46</sup> For example, the great Aristotelian scholar and writer of the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus, held that signs of the zodiac engraved on stones had special powers. A man of choleric disposition would do well to carry with him a stone engraved with the signs of Gemini, Libra, or Aquarius, for these signs ruled over the sanguine humour, and could therefore instil into him feelings of love and friendship, observance of the law, and general good humour.<sup>47</sup> It was also felt that a knowledge of the movements of the planets could guide a person to an understanding of when not to put plans into action; thus, a man who is inclined to be of a cold and dry disposition would realise that his condition could only be rendered worse during the days dominated by the melancholic planet Saturn. He would, if he was wise, not undertake any serious business until Saturn's influence was on the descendant, and more benign powers, like that of the sanguine Jupiter, could help him to moderate his temperament.

Doctors and astrologists, up until the seventeenth century or

46. Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Arcipreste de Talavera, o Corbacho, edited by J. González Muela, Clásicos Castalia, 24 (Madrid 1970), pp. 184-185. This work was first published in 1498. Also see The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, edited by Best and Brightman (Oxford 1973), pp. 65-73.

47. See Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magical and Experimental Science, 8 vols (London 1923-58), vol II, p. 588.

even later, ascribed to the movements of the stars and their subsequent influence on the humours many things that we would lay at other doors. Wars and rebellions, for example, were thought to ensue when the movements of comets and meteors dried up the air, and caused the choleric humour to dominate the body, making for angry passions and the desire to pick a quarrel for no rational reason. A sixteenth-century Spanish doctor accounted for venereal disease in astrological terms, and concluded with what he felt to be sound advice on the subject:

Astrólogos dicen que por conjunción  
de Saturno y Marte el tal daño ha sido.  
Saturno es señor de la adusta pasión,  
y Marte, de los miembros de la generación,  
por donde este mal en el comienzo ha venido.  
Y el hallarse Marte en este lugar,  
tan mal con Saturno, enemigo muy fiero,  
cuando ahora los actos queremos usar  
de Venus y Marte, vamos a mirar  
no esté allí Saturno, que es mal compañero. 48

#### IV. THE PRESERVATION OF HEALTH AND THE ONSLAUGHT OF DISEASE

We have seen, from the previous discussion on the nature of man's body and soul, that the complete human being is a precision instrument which, when it is functioning perfectly, is delicately balanced by the four humours in a state of health, whereby the body is ruled by the soul, and the soul is dependent for its continued existence on the body. An examination of the outside influences has also shown us that there are many factors which, by altering the balance of the humours, can throw the mechanism out. The maintenance of health,

48. Francisco López de Villalobos, Sumario de la medicina, cited by Francisco Rico, El pequeño mundo, p. 164.

therefore, does not rely on good luck but on a good judgement which arises from thorough self-knowledge and a constant moderation, through changing habits, of the various outside factors. It is this ancient view of the causes of disease that gives rise to Galen's assertion, in his treatise On the Preservation of Health that 'not even a swollen gland can occur in those who are carefully instructed in health principles, if at least their body is free from every kind of superfluity'.<sup>49</sup>

The superfluities of which Galen speaks, however, are easily introduced into the body, for a man cannot help his age, nor the climate in which he lives, however carefully he moderates his diet and life-style, and one humour is always tending to predominate over the other three. Once the humours become imbalanced, the malfunctioning body becomes diseased, and the workings of the rational soul become disturbed and clouded, or even stop altogether, as Galen describes; 'not only does the physical temperament change the functions of the soul, but it may even drive this out of the body'.<sup>50</sup> A quotation by Galen, in the same treatise, of a comment of Plato's, shows how susceptible are the workings of the brain to the body's malfunctions:

where acid or saline phlegm, or bitter and bilious humours of any kind, wandering through the body, fail to find a vent externally, and, revolving in the interior, mingle their own vapour with the workings of the soul, they cause all sorts of mental diseases, more or less strong, and more or less in number. According as they are carried into the three divisions of the soul and lodge in one or other at different times, they produce all kinds of irritability and depression, also of courage and

49. In Brock, p. 230.

50. In Brock, p. 230.

cowardice, of bad memory and slowness in learning. <sup>51</sup>

Diseases arising from an imbalance of the humours fall into one of two categories. Acute diseases form the first category; and these, while dangerous, are of short duration. Chronic diseases, which are milder and longer lasting than acute diseases, form the second category. Acute diseases occur as the result of an excess of one of the hot humours, choler, or blood; chronic diseases are caused by an excess of melancholy or phlegm, the two cold humours. The cure for all disease, as Hippocrates outlined, is by the administering of the two opposite qualities, in the form of medicine, purges, or a change of habit or diet.

The dry nature of yellow bile, in conjunction with its heat, causes abscesses and ruptures all over the body, as well as fevers and haemorrhaging. The fever can often rise to the brain, and cause frenzy and delirium. The sanguine man is also prone to these diseases, but to a much lesser extent, as the innate moisture of blood mitigates the harmful effect of excess heat. The cures for these hot diseases are bleeding, purging, and a cool, liquid diet.

Chronic diseases are generally held by Greek and Renaissance doctors to be more serious in nature than acute ones because, although the latter make a person more dangerously ill, he may nevertheless recover more quickly; while the sufferer of a chilling, chronic disease can go into a decline and slowly die. The types of disease caused by an excess of phlegm are dysentery, ague, asthma, and lingering winter fevers, while those caused by melancholy, such as quartan fever, are still more wasting, although of the same type. Their cure would be effected by the administering of a warming, nourishing diet, <sup>51</sup>. In Brock, p. 234.

wine, syrups, and by the purging of the excess humours.

Physical and mental disease, as well as being caused by excessive humours, is often also caused by humours which are either too raw or too burnt. Raw humours are the result of lack of heat in the stomach, which has hindered their proper concoction or "cooking"; while burnt humours arise from too much heat, usually accompanied by excessive dryness, which has "cooked" them to a burnt and sticky mass. If the cold in the body is not mitigated by some warmth, and 'if concoction be hindred, or any other distemperance happen, then is the meat altered and changed into vaporous belching, stinking fumes, and fulsome breathing, which ascending up out of the stomach, disturbe and hurt the brain and minde, insomuch that such persons are easily and quickly provoked to brawling, chiding, strife and dissention'.<sup>52</sup>

Burning, or adustion of the humours, as it was called, makes for more dangerous diseases than those caused by natural and even raw humours unless they are evacuated as soon as possible from the body by means of purging or blood-letting. All four humours, when unnaturally adust, become blackened and of an earthy texture, and, because of their similarity to black bile, they are all called "melancholy"; whether it is melancholy of choler adust, of blood adust, of phlegm adust, or melancholy of melancholy adust, which, I believe, was shinier and more tar-like than its natural counterpart.<sup>53</sup> There arose much confusion as a result of this terminology, for most often a distinction was not drawn between the effects of natural melancholy,

52. Lemnius, p. 15.

53. Lemnius, p. 233.



and those of unnatural melancholy or melancholy adust; or it became a difference merely of degree.

The diseases caused by the presence of putrefied or burnt humours are of a serious nature, and affect the individual's mental powers, for, as a result of the smokey vapours that rise to the brain, 'the mind sometime conceiveth strange and absurd imaginations, yea, sometimes falleth into dotage, raving, madnesse, phrensie, melancholy, fury, or some other distemperance'.<sup>54</sup> In other words, the vapour that comes off the humours quite literally clouds the intellect, so that the sufferer cannot distinguish between what is real and what is a hallucination: in short, he goes insane. Historical accounts of this illness tell of men who were convinced, for example, that they were dead, and so would not eat; or that they had extra long noses, or that they were made of glass.<sup>55</sup> The cure for this particular kind of madness is literally to "humour" the patient; ostensibly to acquiesce in whatever his sick humour dictates to him, and effect a cure by means of play-acting. Some doctors, astute psychologists, go to endless lengths in order to satisfy their patients' minds, performing operations to reduce or change the offending member, or enacting a play in front of the "dead" patient's nose, with all the local medical students dressed up in shrouds, and eating a hearty

54. Lemnius, p. 16.

55. For a discussion on melancholy hallucinations, see Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, (East Lansing, 1951), p. 43; Galen, Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia, edited by Carolus Gottlob Kuhn, 20 vols (Leipzig 1821-33), vol. VIII, p. 190; and Andre Du Laurens (Laurentius), A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight; of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age, translated by Richard Surphlet (London 1599), Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, no. 15 (1938), ch 7, pp. 100-104. \* Discours de la conservation de la veue, &c.

meal. 56

In just the same way as a severe physical disorder can lead to temporary or permanent brain damage, so too is it possible for strong passions and mental agitation caused in response to an external stimulus to bring about illness, and even in some cases to cause death. There is no passion more notorious for causing severe mental and physical illnesses than that of love, and its companion passions of jealousy, anger, or even happiness:

el amor es cobdicia que se faze en el coracon y yuntasse en el mentiras de la cobdicia, y quanto mas fuere la cobdicia fuerte, mas cresce el cuydado y la porfia y la quexa y el mucho velar, y estonces se quema la sangre y se torna en malenconia y enciendense la color a cetrina y tornarse en malenconia y quando se daña el pensamiento viene la torpedat y la mengua del seso. Y sospecha lo que non puede seer, y cobdicia lo que non a de cobdiciar fasta quel aduza a demonio, y estonce por ventura mata el enamorado su alma o muere de cuydado o por aventura llega a lo que ama y muere de alegría o de duelo. O por aventura sospira sospiro grande y affoga su alma quanto xxiiii oras, y cuydanse que es muerto. Y sotierranle y es vivo o por ventura ressuelga un ressuelgo alto y aprietasse su coracon y non se desaprieta fasta que muere. O por aventura alegrasse y tiene ojo contra lo que bien quiere, y veela a so ora y muere a so ora. Y vos vedes el enamorado que quando oee dezir de lo que bien quiere, commo se le fuye la sangre y camiarle la color y esto no lo puede toller sinon la mercet de Dios. 57

The danger in this type of illness, and what makes it so difficult to cure, is the vicious circle which is set up, for the painful thoughts aggravate the physical condition; the humours putrefy and their fumes trouble the mind. Because of this vicious circle, and the constant interaction between body and soul, a muddle arose as to how disease

56. For an example in Spanish literature of this type of melancholy hallucination, see Chapter Five, pp. 186-192.

57. Hunain Ibn Ishak, Libro de los buenos proverbios, a critical edition by Harlan Sturm (Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1970), pp. 147-148.

came about, or what was cause, and what effect.

If the patient suffers from extreme mental agitation, or madness, a detailed cure has to be undertaken. First and foremost, the sufferer needs rest in a warm, soft bed. To counteract the cold and dryness of his condition, which runs contrary to life, he should be given wine and warm, moist food. These cause his stomach and bowels to warm and soften, and enable them to digest the food and evacuate the waste. Bleeding should be undertaken with caution because of its cooling effect. Having strengthened the natural faculty with nourishment, the senses must be stimulated with good, warming odours, such as musk, ambergris and basil. Finally, the vital faculty is strengthened by listening to music, and by being entertained with pleasant company, enlivening stories, and comforting news. <sup>58</sup>

58. See Sabuco, pp. 16-17.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE FOUR HUMOROUS TYPES

While a serious imbalance or adustion of the humours can make for disease, a slight predominance of one humour over the other three inclines a man towards a certain set of characteristics, so that his character or temperament, rather than his health, is affected. /

The mixing of phlegm, blood, yellow bile and black bile in the body in different proportions could produce an endless variety of combinations which, as they worked on the brain, would in turn give rise to an endless assortment of personalities. Galen, narrowing this infinity down to a workable number, listed nine different types of people; those with a hot, or cold, or dry, or moist temperament; those with a hot and moist, or hot and dry, or cold and moist, or cold and dry temperament; and those with a perfectly balanced temperament where no one quality predominated. He was followed in this by Lemnius, but by few others.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, a pattern emerged of just four types; the sanguine, or hot and moist type; the choleric, or hot and dry type; the phlegmatic, or cold and moist type; and the melancholy, or cold and dry type. Within these categories, character could still vary, according to how serious was the humoral imbalance.

The perfect temperament is as unusual and hard to achieve as it is desirable. Galen states that 'such a one will be cheerful, affectionate, humane and intelligent'; while Lemnius describes the perfectly temperate man as being well-made, with a round head, auburn or chestnut hair, a smooth forehead, nice brows and eyes, a pink-and-white complexion, and a smooth, unaffected walk.<sup>2</sup> He is a good speaker,

1. Galen, On the Temperaments, in De Differentiis Februm; de Temperamentis, translated by John Ware (Edinburgh 1928), unpublished thesis, p. 16; and Lemnius, p. 51.

2. Galen, On the Temperaments, p. 28; and Lemnius p. 58.

and, of course, moderate in all things. The popular work Secreta Secretorum also describes this type as having 'the visage round, colour whijt, reed and browne medlid together', although here, his hair and eyes are black; for the Greek or Italian idea of what is perfect, differs from the Nordic.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE SANGUINE TYPE

In describing the four humorous personalities and their physical, mental and moral traits, I shall start with the sanguine type, for, having the life-giving qualities of heat and moisture, he is 'neerest and likest to the best'.<sup>4</sup> A man may be naturally inclined to be sanguine, but there are environmental factors which also influence him in that direction. For example, a man on the threshold of adulthood was particularly inclined to be of sanguine temperament, before the ageing process had a chance to dry him and subsequently cool him. Likewise, the first season of the year, spring, brought with its warmth and gentle rains the upsurge of blood and 'lusty flourishing age'.<sup>5</sup> In the small cycle of the day, it was the hours between 3 am and 9 am, when the brain had been moistened by sleep, that were dominated by blood. Men living in a situation where the prevailing wind was an easterly one were also inclined to be of sanguine temperament. Certain planets and signs of the zodiac, dominated by blood, influenced or made for sanguine types. According to the Arcipreste de Talavera,

3. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, Early English Text Society (London 1898), p. 29. Three manuscript versions of this work are published in this book; this quotation is taken from the first version.

4. Lemnius, p. 141.

5. Lemnius, p. 139.

the signs of the zodiac pertaining to blood are those of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius; the planets are Mercury (for Gemini) and Venus (for Libra); and the parts of the body over which these three signs of the zodiac dominate are the arms, navel, and calves, respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Albertus Magnus, who, in his book of Secrets, describes the nature and qualities of the seven planets, and of the people over whom they hold sway, gives more details than the Arcipreste, but does not agree with him in the matter of which planets hold sway over the man of sanguine temperament. According to Albertus Magnus, it is Jupiter who, being warm and moist by nature, is of sanguine complexion. He is a 'friend to nature and to mankind', rules especially over the houses of Sagittarius and Pisces, has his day of greatest influence on Thursday, and influences the children born under him in a very pleasant fashion, for 'if he be Lord of the Nativity, he maketh the children to be of notable courage, trusty, achieving great exploits, merry, glorious, honest; of stature fair and lovely coloured, gentle eyes, thick hair, stately in going, very loving both of wife and children'.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, it is the opinion of most writers that the man of moderately sanguine temperament is a most pleasant character, and is, after the man of perfect temperament, the most physically pleasing type. The heat and moisture in his body make for a smooth, pink and white complexion, and an abundance of soft, medium-coloured hair.

Apart from this 'fayre semblaunt' he is prone to injury, but healthy enough to recover quickly: 'his complexion shall be lyght to hurte

6. Corbacho, Part 3, chapters ii and vi. The Arcipreste omits the planet Aquarius in his description, in chapter vi, of the influence of the signs of the zodiac over the parts of the body.

7. The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, edited by M.R. Best and F.H. Brightman (Oxford 1973), pp. 66-67.

and to empeyre for his tendyrnesse, he shall have a goode stomache, good dygescion and good deliveraunce: and yf he be woundid he shalbe sone holde'.<sup>8</sup> A love of the pleasant things in life make him 'inclining to be fat', but his lively manners, born of the innate heat of his body, prevent him from becoming unpleasantly obese.<sup>9</sup> His height I have no-where found mentioned, but he is presumably well-built and of good proportions to be such an admired figure.

In character, the sanguine man appears to enjoy the good life; but the estimate of his intelligence ranges somewhat. Galen finds in the man of hot and moist temperament a 'simplicity bordering on foolishness'.<sup>10</sup> The pseudo-Galenic work, De Humoribus, however, describes him as tending towards hilarity rather than stupidity.<sup>11</sup> The Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum supports this idea of a laughter-loving, pleasure-seeking type:

The sanguine gamesome is, and nothing nice,  
Loves wine, and women, and all recreation,  
Likes pleasant tales, and news, plays, cards and dice,  
Fit for all company, and every fashion;

8. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 220 (third ms. version).

9. The School of Salernum. Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum, Sir John Harington's verse translation, edited by Francis R. Packard (London 1922), p. 137.

10. Galen, Hippocrates de Natura Hominis Liber Primus et Galeni in eum commentarius, in Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia, edited by Kuhn, vol XV, chapter 38, p. 97; 'haque hoc statuto acumen animi et solertia ex bilioso humore proficiscetur; constantia vero et stabilis ex melancholico, simplicitas autem et stoliditas, ex sanguine: pituitae vero natura ad mores formandos inutilis'. The translation, given in the text, of this statement, is taken from Klibansky, etc., Saturn and Melancholy, p. 58.

11. Galen, Opera, vol XIX, pp. 492-493.

Though bold, not apt to take offence, not irefull,  
But bountiful and kinde, and looking cheerful:  
Inclining to be fat, and prone to laughter,  
Loves mirth, and musick, and cares not what comes after. <sup>12</sup>

Lemnius, looking more from the moralist's point of view, sees the sanguine man's behaviour as being typical of a type who are 'commonly dolts and fools, or at least, not greatly encumbered with much wit'. <sup>13</sup> It was generally agreed that the sanguine man made a pleasant, rather than intellectual, companion, usually possessing physical, rather than mental, capabilities: 'la sangre gruesa y caliente hace muchas fuerzas corporales'. <sup>14</sup> 'Confidence belongs to a sanguine temperament'; but it is a confidence born of ignorance and a naturally cheerful disposition rather than a careful weighing of chances. <sup>15</sup> Faced with real danger, the sanguine type would probably be a bit of a coward, as his pleasant character is coupled with instability. <sup>16</sup>

The main criticism that could be levelled against the man inclined towards a predominance of blood is that he is too lax and fond of fun; Lemnius remarks in a marginal note that 'blood eggeth a man to riot and wilfulness'. <sup>17</sup> The Arcipreste de Talavera faults him for being too free with his attentions as far as women are concerned, for he is 'mucho enamorado e su coracon arde como fuego, e ama a dyestro

12. Regimen, p. 137. The Corbacho, p. 181, says much the same thing.

13. Lemnius, p. 155.

14. Huarte, p. 138.

15. Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass. 1947), p. 161.

16. Aristotle, Physiognomics, in Aristotle: Minor Works, edited by W.S. Hett, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), p. 93.

17. Lemnius, p. 163.



e a syniestro'.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, moderation is recommended; sanguine people are 'mejor... cuando se calman'.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, the sanguine type's life-style is bound to exacerbate his condition rather than soothe it, and the combination of rich, spiced foods, wine, and pleasant company, all of which have a warming effect on the constitution, are likely to incite him to 'riot, wantonnesse, drunkennesse, wastefulness, prodigality, filthy and detestable loves, and buggery'.<sup>20</sup>

A severe excess of blood leads to mental and physical disease;

If sanguine humour doe too much abound,...  
The face will swelle, the cheekes grow red and round,  
With staring eyes...  
The veines exceed, the belly will be bound,  
The temples and the forehead full of grief,  
Unquiet sleepes, that so strange dreames will make,  
To cause one blush to tell when he doth wake...<sup>21</sup>

In other words, unless he exercises moderation, his abnormal amount of blood can lead the sanguine type into vicious ways, sickness and death. This, however, is the extreme picture, and our usual impression of the sanguine temperament is that of vice so moderated with optimistic sweet-temperedness that, if it does not go unnoticed, it is at least excused.

As far as the sanguine man's intellectual capacity is concerned, it was thought that the abundance of both heat and moisture made him incapable of prolonged bouts of mental activity, for the hot, moist vapours rise easily to the brain and blur the intellect. Sanguine

18. Corbacho, p. 189.

19. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1203.

20. Lemnius, p. 37.

21. Regimen, p. 143.

people 'tienen pocas y debiles fuerzas y no pueden perseverar en la obra largo tiempo... descuellan estos por el empuje, no por la tenacidad'.<sup>22</sup> The Spanish doctor Andrés Piquer wrote that 'los hombres que llaman sanguíneos son prontos en emprender las cosas, y fáciles en dexarlas, y por esta razón mudables'.<sup>23</sup> Huarte explains the cause of this dilettantism which, incidentally, the man of choleric temperament also suffers from, explaining that 'la causa de ser el hombre mudable y tener cada momento su opinión, es ser caliente el cerebro'.<sup>24</sup> Because of his inability to concentrate at great length on one thing, the sanguine type is probably of more service to the community as a labourer or servant than a thinker, writer, or politician. The Arcipreste de Talavera recommends this type of person for passing judgement on malefactors, but he has his reservations: 'este tal es misericordioso y justiciero, que ama justicia, mas non por sus manos fazerla, nin executarla; antes es tanta la piedad que en su corazon reyna, que non le plaze veer execucion de ninguno que byva'.<sup>25</sup>

To sum up, the man of sanguine temperament, unless he is suffering from a great excess of blood in his system, is a thoroughly likeable person, who is pleasing to look at and to talk to; a lover of fun, and an excellent companion, but who lacks the constancy which is an important part of any lasting relationship. Honest and without malice, he is also maddeningly lazy, and, if he indulges himself too

22. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1203.

23. Andrés Piquer, Filosofía moral para la juventud española, third edition (Madrid 1789), p. 102. This work first appeared in 1755.

24. Huarte, p. 138.

25. Corbacho, p. 182.

much, he can fall into wickedly licentious ways.

#### THE CHOLERIC TYPE

A man who is prone to the domination in his body of the hot, and dry yellow bile is known as choleric, and his character is moulded by the hot and dry qualities to a greater or lesser extent. His condition is exacerbated especially during the hot, dry summer months, unless he takes the precaution of drinking lots of cool drinks, or purging the yellow bile with rhubarb, or taking cold baths regularly. The youthful, sanguine person's innate moisture is in danger of drying up quickly if he leads too dissolute a life; so that many young men pass quickly from the first, sanguine phase of life to the next, choleric, phase. The part of the day dominated by yellow bile is also the second phase, comprising the hours between 9 am and 3 pm. The North wind produces an upsurge of choler in anyone who is unwise enough to expose himself to it: in fact, any dryness in the air, especially when it is accompanied by warmth, is productive of yellow bile.

The three houses of Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius hold sway over the man of choleric temperament, and, more particularly, his head, his heart, his thighs and back. His special planets are Mercury, the Sun, and Jupiter, according to the Arcipreste; whereas Albertus Magnus holds his planets to be the warlike Mars and, to a lesser extent, the Sun, the particular days of each being Tuesday and Sunday, respectively.<sup>26</sup> The nature of the planet Mars is 'immoderate hot and dry'; that is, choleric in the extreme.<sup>27</sup> He is quick-acting, but some-

26. Corbacho, p. 185; the Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, pp. 67-70.

27. Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, p. 68.

what evilly disposed, and he visits upon the people under his sway many pestilential diseases and fevers. His children are violent people, so that 'if he be Lord of the Nativity, he maketh the children born rough, wild, fierce, invincible, bold, contentious, obscure, easy to be deceived; of stature indifferent, lean, hard-faced, red-headed, small eyed, delighting to burn and destroy, subject to breaking their limbs, and violent death, or else to fall down from an high place'.<sup>28</sup>

People born under the influence of the Sun, although still tending towards yellow bile, are not as extremely hot and dry as those born under Mars' influence; for the Sun is more moderate. 'If he be Lord of the Nativity he maketh the child born trusty, lofty, wise, just, courteous, religious, and obedient unto their parents; of person corpulent, their hair inclined to yellow, tall, large-limbed, doing all things with a grace, and if this planet be well-placed, he causeth long life'.<sup>29</sup>

In appearance, the choleric person gives the impression of being somewhat unhealthy, and unable to relax. He is lean, with limbs that have become rather stringy, owing to their dry nature, although an active life would make him muscular. The redness of his complexion is due to an excess of heat, rather than good health, and this is emphasised by the broken veins in his eyes. His hair would be yellow, auburn, or black, depending on the proportion of heat to moisture, and it would have a natural curl to it, for it became frizzled by the heat of the brain. An excess of choler would cause baldness, although

28. Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, p. 68.

29. Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, p. 70.

courage was said to make for extreme hairiness. The facial features would be large, the eyes protruding, the nose hooked, and, if endowed with more than his fair share of crooked guile, he would have a tell-tale red beard. If he indulged his moods too much, the choleric type would become prematurely aged and wrinkled, for dryness, like cold, is contrary to life. If, on the other hand, he looked after himself well, he would seldom be sick, but rather 'healthfuller and lustier than any other men'.<sup>30</sup>

The outstanding trait of the man of choleric temperament is that of irascibility, for he is constantly prone to the hot passion of anger. Although he is so hot-tempered, however, the heat of his anger is quick to burn itself out, for, like the sanguine man, he is inconstant. In the Secreta Secretorum he is described as 'sumwhat rogh; and lyght to wrethe and lyght to pleyse; of strange witte, wise and of good memorie, a grette entremytere, fulle-large and foole hardy, delyuer of body, hasty of worde and of answe; he louyth hasty wengaunce'.<sup>31</sup> The dryness of their temperament, coupled with heated passion, makes choleric people greatly to be feared; for 'son como carniceros crueles, vindicativos al tiempo de su colera, arrepentidos de que les pasa'.<sup>32</sup> The hasty part of the choleric nature is emphasised in Lemnius' account of this temperament: 'choler is of that nature, that yeeldeth

30. Lemnius, p. 73: for a general description of the choleric man's appearance, see pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 220 (third manuscript version).

31. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 220. Piquer, p. 102, explains 'cosa sabida es que los hombres que llaman coléricos, son inclinados a la ira, y a la venganza, poco constantes en las empresas, y puestos en ellas intrépidos y arrojados'.

32. Corbacho, p. 182.

out a fiery force, whose motion (as it were a firebrand) stirreth up and insenceth our mindes to hasty moodes and furious rages'.<sup>33</sup>

Needless to say, a choleric man makes a warm-hearted if somewhat impetuous lover, always eager to avenge the smallest slur cast on his lady's character, and 'desyrous of company of women moore than hym nedyth'.<sup>34</sup>

The picture we have built up so-far of the choleric type has shown him to be a man who has more than his fair share of impetuosity, courage, and often unfounded anger, uncomplicated by intelligence: 'the hot-tempered man is not crafty'.<sup>35</sup> Galen, however, does not share this view at all, believing, on the contrary, that 'acuteness and intelligence of the mind come from the bilious humours'.<sup>36</sup> This would seem to be quite logical, for dryness aids intelligence, while heat aids imagination. Lemnius, following this notion, combines in the hot-tempered man a mixture of courage and wit: 'for vehement heat maketh man stout of courage, fierce, testie, crafty, subtill, industrious, politicke...'.<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to see, however, how a man can be both prone to fits of anger, and "politicke"; and one can only conclude that it depends very much on the strength of the body heat whether a man is crafty or not. So long as the brain is neither over-

33. Lemnius, p. 69.

34. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 220.

35. Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, p. 409.

36. See note 10, page 43.

37. Lemnius, p. 69.

heated nor too dry, the choleric type is both quick witted and quick-acting, for 'la bilis amarilla produce reacciones rapidísimas, subitáneas'.<sup>38</sup> He may also, if not over dry, possess a good memory. If, however, the presence of yellow bile is encouraged by indulgence in the angry passions, or by the eating of the wrong foods, or by any of the environmental factors which have been outlined in my first chapter, the person's idiosyncracies may be turned to madness; for frenzied madness stems from an overheating, untempered by moisture, of the brain. Then, the choleric man is easily incited to 'testinesse and anger, to brawling and chiding, contention, rayling, quarrelling, fighting, murder, robbery, sedition, discord', and he is incapable of exercising his intelligence.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE MELANCHOLIC TYPE

It is the season of autumn 'in which risith the black colre'; likewise, men who are passing from their prime into the cold, dry autumn of their lives are particularly susceptible to melancholy.<sup>40</sup> With the association of the colour black with night, it is not surprising that black bile has the ascendancy during the night, between the hours of 9 pm and 3 am. A Westerly wind, moreover, will encourage this ascendancy.

According to the Arcipreste de Talavera, the houses of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn rule over melancholy, affecting the trunk, stomach

38. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1201.

39. Lemnius, p. 37.

40. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 28 (first ms. version).



and knees respectively.<sup>41</sup> Albertus Magnus gives a description of the melancholy planet Saturn, which is the highest planet, and by nature cold and dry; it is 'an enemy to mankind', and especially powerful on a Saturday. Men born under this planet have rather unattractive personalities: 'if he be Lord of the Nativity, he maketh the children of proud heart, lofty in honours, sad, keeping anger, upright in counsel, disagreeing with their wives, malicious, of stature lean, pale, slender, and hard favoured, thick lips, wide nostrils, and cold of nature'.<sup>42</sup>

In appearance, the melancholy type is perhaps the most ill-favoured of the four. According to the rule that his complexion should be of the same colour as the predominating humour, he should be black of face, but his general ill-health and propensity to insomnia give rather the idea of extreme pallor. This explains such seemingly contradictory sentences as 'the melancolicke sholde be sumwhate blake and pale'.<sup>43</sup> Lemnius explains that a great excess of black bile, if it had burst from the spleen and dispersed throughout the body, would make the skin 'of a sooty and dunne colour' and that eventually the body would waste away and become very ugly; 'making him to look like silver all fustied with chimney soot'.<sup>44</sup> These descriptions build up a picture of an ashen complexion; grey, or deathly pale, for the melancholic man shares the cold, dry characteristics of death. For the rest, he is thin, owing to the dryness of

41. Corbacho, pp. 184-185.

42. Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, p. 66.

43. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, p. 220 (third ms. version).

44. Lemnius, p. 220 and p. 225.



his body; and this dryness, as well as making him look wrinkled, causes his hair to fall out and his nails to grow crooked. If he has hair at all, it is black, owing to the combustion and drying-out of the vapours in his brain.<sup>45</sup> From a long list of unattractive idiosyncracies can be mentioned those of stuttering, lisping, and belching.<sup>46</sup> He is very slow of gait, and generally hunched-up.

The historical development of the ideas surrounding the melancholic character has made him the most contradictory, complex and fascinating of the four humorous types. On the one hand, the melancholy type was endowed with the unappealing traits of stupidity, sadness and misanthropy which one would expect to accompany his revolting appearance: yet this type became the fashionable image of the Elizabethan world; an interestingly pale, romantically subjective and not unintelligent person whose mannerisms were copied by many.<sup>47</sup>

In searching for the link between these seemingly incompatible images, it is necessary to turn back for a moment both to the astrological influence of the planet Saturn, and to the physiological theory of the humours. The planet Saturn, with its cold, dry properties, watched and held sway over the man of melancholic temperament. As we saw above, according to Albertus Magnus, Saturn's children are malicious and evilly inclined. However, it has been pointed out that Saturn had two faces, for 'like melancholy, Saturn, that demon of opposites, endowed the soul both with slowness and stupidity, and

45. See note 10, p. 43.

46. Klibansky, et al., Saturn and Melancholy, p. 51.

47. See Babb, The Elizabethan Malady.

with the power of intelligence and contemplation'.<sup>48</sup> Ficino saw Saturn as fostering abnormal, rather than necessarily evil people: it 'seldom denotes ordinary characters and destinies, but rather people set apart from the rest, divine or bestial, blissful, or, bowed down by the deepest sorrow.'<sup>49</sup> Two other points, concerning Kronos, the Greek equivalent of Saturn, are relevant here. Firstly, the planet, according to Plotinus, symbolised intellect; and secondly, it presided over the Greek mythical Golden Age, when all men were supposed to be endowed with exceptional amounts of beauty, wit, and wisdom. Both the planet Saturn and its melancholic children, then, were in this view exceptional, or abnormal, rather than specifically malevolent.

The personality of the melancholic type was rendered yet more complex by the fact that the cold, dry, melancholy humour which gave rise to that temperament could be either natural or unnatural in origin. Natural black bile was always present in the body, being the dregs of the blood, and a necessary cooling fluid to mitigate the heat of the blood and the yellow bile. A very little black bile was sufficient to perform this office, however, so that if, through any or all of the possible environmental influences, too much black bile was produced, the person would become melancholic, earthily stubborn, and subject to the cold, hard passions of sadness and fear:

The Melancholy from the rest doth varie,  
Both sport and ease, and company refusing,  
Exceeding studious, ever solitary,  
Inclining pensive still to be, and musing,

48. Saturn and Melancholy, p. 159.

49. Ficino, De Vita Libri Tres, in Saturn and Melancholy, p. 159.

A secret hate to others apt to carry;  
Most constant in his choice, tho long a-chusing,  
Extreme in love sometime, yet seldom lustful,  
Suspitious in his nature, and Mistrustfull,  
A wary wit, a hand much given to sparing, 50  
A heavy look, a spirit little daring.

By some people, however, black bile was thought to be a corrupt form of yellow bile, so that the melancholic type could at times flee from company, and yet at other times want to pick a fight:

son onbres muy yrados, syn tieno nin medida. Son muy escasos en superlativo grado; son yncomportables dondequiera que usan, mucho riñosos, e con todos rifadores. Non tienen temprança en cosa que fagan, synon dar con la cabeza a la pared. Son muy inicos, maldizientes, tristes, sospirantes, pensativos; fuyen de todo lugar de alegría; non les plaze ver onbre que tome solos con un paperote. Son sañudos, e luego las puñadas en la mano, porfiados, mentirosos, engannosos; e ynumerales otras tachas e males tyenen. Son podridos, gargajosos, ceñudos, e crueles sin medida en sus fechos. 51

As time went on, many people began to think of melancholy as being a corrupt humour, so that eventually, any humour that had become burnt or corrupt, whether natural black bile, yellow bile, blood or phlegm, was termed melancholy; or, more correctly, burnt melancholy, or adust melancholy. It was generally agreed that this form of melancholy was much more vicious and caused much more harm than its natural counterpart.

There are four types of melancholy adust; each of which produces different mental traits in the sufferer. Melancholy from blood adust makes for unnatural levity and carelessness; melancholy from phlegm adust gives rise to storms of weeping, and a fascination with water, while melancholy arising from choler adust produces furious fits of rage and cruelty, as described above by the Arcipreste de Talavera.

50. Regimen, p. 140.

51. Corbacho, p. 183.

An unnatural melancholy arising from an adustion of the black bile itself is very serious, for it exacerbates the traits of misanthropy, fear and depression which characterise the man of melancholic temperament. If, then, a man suffers from a slight excess of black bile in his body, he has a tendency to be rather stupid at worst, or consistent at best, for 'steadiness and solidity (come from) the atrabilious humours'.<sup>52</sup> This steady, earthy temperament becomes more volatile as it is corrupted, and causes madness and bodily weakness:

si se deja sola a la bilis negra por la desecación de todas las humedades, invade el cerebro amotinadamente, condensa y oscurece los espíritus de donde proceden los furiosos y los maníacos. Luego el cuerpo se desjuga, se rechupa y se debilita.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, madness can take several forms, such as lycanthropy, or violent passion; but madness arising from melancholy adust is thought to be particularly evil: the word "melas", to the Greeks, had the same nocturnal, evil connotations as our "black". The general consensus of opinion, then, was that the melancholy man seemed determined to give both himself and his companions a thoroughly unenjoyable time. He has a propensity towards 'envy, emulation, bitterness, hatred, spight, forgery, subtilty, deceit, treason, sorrow, heaviness, desperation, distrust, and last of all, to a lamentable and shameful end'.<sup>54</sup>

The phenomenon of the wise and admirable melancholic type has to do with the burning or adustion of the melancholic humour, and is

52. See note 10, p. 43.

53. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1202.

54. Lemnius, p. 37.

a matter of degree. Aristotle explains this phenomenon by means of an analogy between the heating of the melancholic humour and the heating of the body by wine:

wine in large quantity manifestly produces in men much the same characteristics which we attribute to the melancholic, and as it is being drunk it fashions various characters, for instance, irascible, benevolent, compassionate or reckless ones; whereas honey or milk or water, or anything else of this kind, do not have this effect. One can see that wine makes the most varied characters, by observing how it gradually changes those who drink it; for those who, to begin with, when sober, are cool and taciturn become more talkative when they have drunk just a little too much; if they drink a little more it makes them grandiloquent and boisterous, and, when they proceed to action, reckless; if they drink still more it makes them insolent, and then frenzied; while very great excess enfeebles them completely and makes them as stupid as those who have been epileptic from childhood or those who are a prey to excessive melancholy.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, between the two extremes of the coolness and taciturnity of natural melancholy and the stupidity of melancholy adust, there is a vast range of varying traits, which builds up an extremely complex picture of the melancholic type. It is the fact that black bile can heat up (as can be seen from its adustion) which makes it engender genius.

'Those... in whom the black bile's excessive heat is relaxed towards a mean, are melancholy, but they are more rational and in many respects superior to others either in culture or in the arts or in statesmanship'. Excessive heat, while causing frenzy, can also furnish the mind with thoughts which would not otherwise occur: 'Marcus the Syracusan, was actually a better poet when he was out of his mind'.<sup>56</sup>

Until, at the beginning of the Renaissance, Aristotle's work was more

55... Aristotle, Problem XXX, i, in Aristotle Problems II (Books XXII-XXVIII) and Rhetorica ad Alexandrum, edited by W.S. Hett and H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass. 1937).

56. Aristotle, Problem XXX, i, p. 163.

widely read and studied, the melancholy temperament was generally considered to be the most evil and perverted of all, especially in its unnatural state. In the fifteenth century, however, Marsilio Ficino, in his De Vita Libri Tres vindicated the melancholic temperament, having read Aristotle's Problem XXX (and having himself been born under the auspices of the melancholy planet Saturn). While agreeing with Galen that natural melancholy gave rise to an unintelligent personality, he emphasised that unnatural melancholy also makes a person intelligent so long as the heat is not immoderate. Conversely, Ficino dwelt on the problems of the intelligent and studious man who, because of his temperament and habit, was extremely susceptible to attacks of melancholia. <sup>57</sup>

This distinction between two types of melancholy became known in medical circles. Piquer states that

los melancólicos se distinguen en dos clases, porque unos son fríos, y otros muy ardientes. Los primeros son pesadísimos, desconfiados, maliciosos, amantísimos de sí mismos, y mudables según su conveniencia. Los melancólicos (ardientes) son benéficos, liberales, muy constantes en su propósito, amantes de la rectitud, y firmes en las empresas'. <sup>58</sup>

Here, the better melancholic temperament would appear to have inherited the "cold" virtue of constancy together with the adust form of melancholy, thus combining the best of the "hot" and "cold" traits into one personality.

Huarte de San Juan noticed that a fever of madness could be accompanied by an increase in the intelligence of an individual:

57. Marsilio Ficino, De Vita Libri Tres (Basel 1561); and an Italian version De le Tre Vite (Venetia 1548). See Book I, chs. v and vi. This work was first produced in 1482-89.

58. Filosofía moral para la juventud española, p. 102.

de un rústico labrador sabré yo decir, que estando frenético, hizo delante de mí un razonamiento con tantos lugares retóricos, con tanta elegancia y policía de vocablos como Cicerón lo podía hacer delante del senado.

He goes on to explain that 'la oratoria es una ciencia que nace de cierto punto de calor, y que este rústico labrador le tenía ya por razón de la enfermedad'. <sup>59</sup>

So long as the cold is not excessive and does not lead to an idée fixe, the melancholic temperament is excellent for making a man abide by his decisions. Coldness also makes the melancholy man an excellent worker, 'capaz de aguantar el trabajo'; in contrast to the dilettantism of the truly hot temperaments. <sup>60</sup> This type of melancholic temperament thus became the special property of intellectuals, for they had the extra claim that students were, because of their sedentary existence, constantly prone to an excess of black bile.

From this brief survey, one can see what vastly contrasting character types have been built up around the melancholic temperament, making the man both hero and scapegoat in the Renaissance world of the literati.

#### THE PHLEGMATIC TYPE

Phlegm was thought to be the humour that was at its height in a person who is old. The drying and cooling process here is at its last stage, and the last of the body's moisture is being forced out of the body, leaving the vital organs in a dry, cold, death-like state.

59. Huarte, p. 119.

60. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1203.

People in general become more phlegmatic in temperament during the winter months and between the hours of three in the afternoon and nine o'clock in the evening, at any time of year. A south wind was also thought to produce an abundance of phlegm.

According to the astrological reckoning of the Arcipreste de Talavera, the signs of Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces are the houses which rule over the phlegmatic parts of the body, which are the breast, the private parts, and the feet. The Moon, Venus and Jupiter are all named by the Arcipreste as being phlegmatic planets, while Albertus Magnus names only the Moon, ruling over Cancer, and Venus, ruling over Taurus and Libra.<sup>61</sup> The planet Venus is temperately cold and moist, and is well disposed towards mankind. Her day is Friday, and her children have an attractive personality: for 'if she be Lady of the Nativity, she maketh the children born pleasant, merry, given to pleasures, lovely, lecherous, just, inviolable keepers of faith and friendliness; of stature tall, comely, white and fair, having wanton and amiable eyes, gentle looks, thick and soft hair, sometimes curled, dancers and delighters in music'. The Moon is the lowest of all the planets, and 'conveyor of the virtue of all other planets coming next from her to us'. She is also the coldest and moistest of all the planets, and 'if she be Sovereign of the Nativity, she maketh the children born honest, honourable, inconstant, loving wet and moist places, and given to see strange countries; of stature tall, white and effeminate'.<sup>62</sup>

In appearance, the phlegmatic type can be very attractive; tall,

61. Corbacho, pp. 184-5; Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, pp. 71-3.

62. Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, pp. 71-3.



smooth-skinned, and gray-eyed; 'for the most part flegmatique are fair'.<sup>63</sup> No hair grows on their bodies, but an abundance of it grows on their heads, thanks to the moist vapours which rise from their brains. The more moisture there is, the thicker, and softer, and paler the hair. This hair goes white early on in life. People who have a great abundance of phlegm in their bodies are more unattractive: 'of no great growth,/ Inclining to be rather fat and fair'.<sup>64</sup> Their intense laziness gives rise to an extremely fat, pale, unhealthy-looking body, very sluggish movements, and a doughy, expressionless face.

The character of the phlegmatic type again depends on the level of phlegm in the body, and can likewise range from the attractive to the utterly repellent. Phlegmatic types are, fundamentally, an indolent people:

Given much unto their ease, to rest and sloth,  
Content in knowledge to take little share,  
To put themselves to any pain most loth.  
So dead their spirits, so dull their senses are,  
Still either sitting, like to folke that dream,  
Or also still spitting, to avoid the flegme'.<sup>65</sup>

A natural concomitant of this extreme physical indolence is mental torpor; 'la pituita engendra humores espesos y provoca lentitudes en las operaciones de la inteligencia'.<sup>66</sup> Galen, at one point, will not even allow them to be stupid, for 'phlegm by its nature does not contribute to the formulation of character, as it evidently is always a

63. Regimen, p. 138.

64. Regimen, p. 138.

65. Regimen, p. 138.

66. Vives, Tratado del alma, in Obras, vol II, p. 1201.

by-product at the first stage of the metabolic process'; although elsewhere he ascribes 'at pituitam pigriorum et stupidiorum'.<sup>67</sup> Cold, moist phlegm inevitably makes this type slow; 'este humor grueso hace tardíos y espaciosos a los que tienen abundancia dél', and this slowness is exacerbated by the phlegmatic person's favourite occupation: sleep.<sup>68</sup> 'El sueño demasiado hace a los cuerpos sobrados de humores dañinos y los hace flojos, perezosos, lentos, y quita la rapidez del ingenio'.<sup>69</sup> The Arcipreste de Talavera is totally disparaging; saying that

estos tales son tibyos, nin buenos para aca, nin malos para alla, synon a manera de perezosos e ninligentes; que tantos se les da por lo que va como por lo que viene; dormidores, pesados, mas floxos que madera; nin byen para reyr, nin byen son para llorar; frios, ynvernizos, de poco fablar, solitarios, medio mudos, fechos a machamartillo, sospechosos, non entremetidos, flacos de saber, ligeros de seso, judíos de coraçon, e mucho mas de fechos'.<sup>70</sup>

This type is much too effeminate and cowardly to make a good lover; and is generally too ineffectual to get on in life: in short, 'de la flema para ninguna cosa se aprovecha el anima racional mas que para dormir'.<sup>71</sup>

There is, however, a more attractive side to the phlegmatic personality, which is especially in evidence when the phlegmatic humour is not superabundant. The indolence is then not excessive, and is

67. See note 10, p. 43; also see Galen, Opera, vol XIX, p. 493.

68. Sebastián de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española, edited by Martín de Riquer (Barcelona 1943), p. 601a. This work by Covarrubias was first published in 1611.

69. Vives, Intraducción a la sabiduría, in Obras, vol I, p. 1215.

70. Corbacho, p. 183.

71. Huarte, p. 141.

rendered more pleasing because of its combination with the traits of honesty and constancy. As regards a career, the phlegmatic person is a stickler; like the melancholic type he is 'capaz de aguantar el trabajo'.<sup>72</sup> Marcos García distinguishes between phlegmatic laziness, which is to be avoided at all costs, and phlegmatic prudence, or "cool" thinking, which is something to be admired and emulated. Speaking of the two types of phlegm, he explains, 'la una es hija de la pereza, y por esta le afean las honras, se derriban las coronas, y peligran los Reynos. La otra, es hija de la prudencia, por ella se consiguen los triunfos, se vencen las arduas dificultades, se rinden los mas fuertes enemigos, se adquieren las mayores dignidades.'<sup>73</sup>

The phlegmatic type, then (and bear in mind that this was applicable to all women) is prone to laziness, cowardice, and stupidity; but, because of the absence of bile in the body, is quite unmalicious, and very gentle. He can also, if only moderately phlegmatic, be capable of prudent thought, although he lacks the glamorous spark of genius that accompanies the thoughts of the best melancholics.

Having studied the four humorous types separately, it would be of use, I feel, to draw them closer together by looking very briefly again at a few particular traits, in order to see where the links between the characters are to be found. Physiologically speaking, there is a link between the four humours. Phlegm, as I stated previously, is an unconcocted form of blood, while yellow bile and black bile are burnt forms of the same: in cooking terms, and these are what

72. Piquer, p. 102.

73. Marcos García, La flema de Pedro Hernández (Madrid 1657), pp. 112-3.

Renaissance physiologists used, phlegm is the raw ingredient; blood is the humour where the ingredients are nicely mixed and cooked to a turn; yellow bile is produced when the humours are boiling a little too hard and fast, while black bile is the sticky, burnt remains which have to be scraped off the pan, once they are cold.

The link, or confusion, between choler and melancholy is perhaps the closest, for they both possess the dry quality which is conducive to intelligence; although melancholy is too cold, and choler too hot, for the wit to function properly. Aristotle, in his Problem XXX, explained how a moderately heated form of black bile endowed a man with intelligence and a spark of genius. This moderately heated form of melancholy, however, would share the qualities of heat and dryness with choler, and so the idea of the clever choleric persisted. Choleric people, in the Arcipreste de Talavera's opinion, were 'muy curiosos y de gran seso, ardidios, sotiles, sabyos yngeniosos'.<sup>74</sup> The two bilious temperaments, then, are often hard to distinguish.

Blood and phlegm are linked by moisture, and vie for the characteristic of stupidity. Stupidity was at first attributed to blood, while phlegm was characterless, but soon the emphasis was laid on the hilarious disposition of the sanguine man, rather than his stupidity, which was then allocated to the previously characterless phlegmatic.

The four humours can be linked in a different way, by considering them in the light of the qualities of heat and cold. Thus, choler and blood share the characteristics of dilettantism, for their innate heat prevents a person from being able to concentrate on one thing for any

74. Corbacho, p. 191.

length of time. The cold melancholics and phlegmatics, on the other hand, are very stable people, for this coldness prevents them from moving around too much: the exception to this, naturally, being the adust melancholic, who is warm rather than cold.

There are no links between choler and phlegm, and between blood and melancholy, because these pairs do not share any characteristics of heat, cold, dryness or moisture.

### CHAPTER THREE: CONTEMPORARY SPANISH WORKS ON THE THEORY OF THE HUMOURS

This study, so far, has been concerned with outlining the theory of the humours, with emphasising its relevance to man's habits and mode of conduct, and with describing the sanguine, choleric, melancholic and phlegmatic types. Before turning, in the next chapter, to its relevance to works of Spanish Golden Age literature, it would assist our overall view of the influence of the theory to examine the types of non-fictional works on the subject of the humours which were available to both doctors and laymen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and thence to obtain an idea of the prevailing Spanish notions on the theory. This chapter, then, takes the form of an amplification, with special reference to popular Spanish writings, of some of the ideas laid out in the previous two chapters of this study.<sup>1</sup>

Because the balancing of the four humours affected not only a man's health, but also his appearance, character, and conduct, interest in the humoral theory was by no means confined to the medical profession. While medical students were being well-versed in the intricate and learned works of Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle, and their commentators, the reading public were well supplied with information on those aspects of the theory which concerned them and which they could readily understand. The various types of work had a two-fold purpose: firstly,

1. The works listed in this chapter are merely representative of the type of work available, and in no way represent an exhaustive survey. See also Mauricio de Iriarte, El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su Examen de ingenios. Contribución a la historia de la psicología diferencial (Madrid 1948); Francisco Rico, El pequeño mundo del hombre; and the Introduction to La Materia Medica de Dioscorides, transmisión medieval y renacentista, by C.E. Dubler, 6 vols (Barcelona and Tetuán 1952-59); all of which provide further bibliographies.

FIG. 2: CONTEMPORARY SPANISH WORKS ON THE THEORY OF THE HUMOURS

<u>Type of work</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Short title</u>	<u>First published</u>
Medical/moral	Rodrigo de Arévalo	Suma de la política	1455
	Juan Luis Vives	Vergel de los príncipes	1524
		Introducción a la sabiduría	1538
		Tratado del alma	1539
	Pedro Ciruelo	Reprovação de las supersticiones....	1542
	Luis Lobera de Ávila	Vergel de sanidad	1545
	Juan de Avinón	Sevillana medicina	1553
	Miguel Servet	Christianismi Restitutio	1563 (1555 Italian)
	Alexo Piamontes	Secretos....	1579
	Agustín Farfán	Tractado breve de medicina	1587
	Oliva/ Miguel Sabuco	Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre	1638
	Juan Eusebio Nieremberg	Ocultá filosofía....	1668
	Juan de la Torre y Barcárcel	Espejo de la filosofía....	1730
	Diego de Torres Villaroel	Vida natural y cathólica....	1776
	Antonio Pérez de Escobar	Avisos médicos, populares, y domésticos	
Ethical	Juan Luis Vives	Tratado del alma	1538
	Melchor Cano	Tractado de la victoria de sí mismo	1550
	Jerónimo de Mondragón	Censura de la locura humana....	1598
	Juan Eusebio Nieremberg	Obras y días....	1629
Physiognomy	Alfonso Martínez de Toledo	...El Corbacho	1498
	Jerónimo Cortes	Phisonomía y varios secretos de naturaleza	1595/7
	Andrés Piquer	Filosofía moral....	1755
<u>Ingenio</u>	Huarte de San Juan	Examen de ingenios para las ciencias	1575 and 1594
	Tomás Murillo Velarde	Aprobación de ingenios	1672

they enabled people to recognise their own humoral types; and secondly, to those who had found out to which humour they were inclined they gave advice on how to achieve a moderate and balanced temperament.

#### MEDICAL TREATISES

The first category of writings on the subject of the humours consists of treatises on medicine, hygiene and diet. A typical synthesis of ancient medicine can be found in a work by the Spanish doctor Juan de la Torre y Balcárcel called Espejo de la filosofía y compendio de toda la medicina theórica y práctica. At a time when serious scholars of medicine wrote and studied in Latin, De la Torre wrote his work in Castilian, evidently hoping for a wider circulation of his book, among not only doctors but the general reading public. His book is divided into four parts, which, together, contain all the facts, culled from the works of Greek and Arabic doctors, about man's body, his soul, his environment, the illnesses to which he may succumb, and their cures. De la Torre, after explaining about the four elemental qualities of cold, heat, dryness and moisture, follows Galen's example in listing nine temperaments: one perfectly balanced, four simple, and four compound. The third book of the treatise describes the 'cosas no naturales al hombre' (see page 16), listing them as air, food, drink, sleep, wakefulness, movement, rest, and the passions of the soul; and it explains the methods by which a person can achieve and maintain a balanced temperament. Writers gave special emphasis to a discussion of these "non-natural things" because they were the tools

2. Book 3, Tratado I, f. 88. He does not include the functions of evacuation and retention in his list, as do most other writers.



by which a man could become healthy in body and mind. De la Torre's work is almost entirely unoriginal, but its citation shows how the Greek medical notions were accepted and widely circulated in Golden Age Spain.

Diego de Torres Villaroel's treatise on medicine is not as comprehensive as that of De la Torre, but rather confines itself to a discussion of the various influences on the body; and its purpose is plainly set out in the title, as being an account of the Vida natural y cathólica. Medicina segura para mantener menos enferma la organización del cuerpo, y assegurar al alma la eterna salud.<sup>3</sup>

Some writers, in describing the "non-natural things", dwell on one or other aspect of these environmental influences. Luis Lobera de Ávila, for example, in his treatise entitled Vergel de sanidad, gives special attention to the properties of foodstuffs and such drinks as wine, beer and water.<sup>4</sup> Juan de Aviñón's Sevillana medicina deals exclusively with diet, and is a guide on how to keep healthy in Seville; a town whose air, according to Aviñón, is predominantly hot and moist.<sup>5</sup> In order to avoid an excessively sanguine temperament, therefore, all the citizens of Seville are advised by the writer to adopt a predominantly cool, dry diet. Sevillana medicina bears a resemblance to our modern diet book, which lists all available foods and

3. For other accounts of the six non-natural things, see Vives, Introducción a la sabiduría, in Obras, vol I, p. 1213 onwards; and Sabuco, Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre, fourth edition, (Madrid 1728), p. 57 onwards. This work was first published in Madrid, 1587.

4. Luis Lobera de Ávila, Vergel de sanidad (Alcalá de Henares 1542).

5. Juan de Aviñón, Sevillana medicina (Seville 1545).

drinks in order to evaluate the protein, carbohydrate and calorie content of each. Aviñón's equally practical book also lists all the foods available or known about, but according to their properties, or qualities, of hot and moist, hot and dry, cold and moist, and cold and dry. This list aims to help people to choose a correct diet which will counteract the effects of the climate, and enable them to achieve a balanced temperament.

In writing about one or other of the six non-natural things, and in warning people of their susceptibility to their surroundings, more attention was paid to the last thing in the list, the passions or affections of the mind, than to any other. Curbing the passions and thus being a good person was part and parcel of achieving a well-balanced temperament and a healthy body; conversely, the quick road to death and damnation lay in unleashing the passions and allowing them to dominate the body and soul. Medical treatises, then, were written with a strongly moral purpose. Sabuco's treatise Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre opens with a Coloquio de el conocimiento de sí mismo which stresses the link between the passions and bodily health. By means of a literary device, whereby three shepherds see a youthful looking man of ninety, and discuss the miracle of his youth, Sabuco emphasises 'quan eficaces son los afectos, y p<sup>a</sup>siones del espíritu sensitivo, para matar'.<sup>6</sup> Sabuco then lists all the passions and emphasises the danger inherent in letting them run riot. The passions of "miedo" and "temor", for example, lead to illness, and early old age, and death. Even when fear does not kill, 'derriba su parte de humor, y lo

6. Sabuco, p. 3. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

hace vicioso para delante, y el humor que engendra es melancolía, la qual hace gran daño a los mortales, aunque no los mate, sino a la larga' (p.21). Conversely, the moderation of all passions gives rise to a long, healthy, and happy existence, such as that experienced by the ninety-year-old shepherd, who is a figure worthy of emulation.

Torres Villaroel, in his Vida natural y cathólica, deals with all of the six non-natural things, but he is particularly interested in the passions, and emphasises that humoral imbalance will surely result from 'la furiosa libertad que concedemos a los apetitos, y pasiones del ánimo'.<sup>7</sup> His study of the non-natural things is followed by some Preceptos generales para conservar la salud del alma, y librarla de las enfermedades mortales. Here, Torres Villaroel explains how 'assí como la salud del cuerpo consiste en la dieta discreta de los alimentos, así tambien la salud del alma es adquirida con demonstración infalible en la abstinencia de los vicios, y los apetitos desenfrenados'. He does not in fact link the body's behaviour directly with that of the soul, as he did in the first treatise, but instead lectures on the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the seven deadly sins.<sup>8</sup> A healthy mind in a healthy body here serves as a

7. The Madrid 1730 edition of Torres Villaroel's work, to which I referred, has no page numbers. Subsequent references to his work are therefore not paginated.

8. Also see (i) Secretos del Reverendo don Alexo Piamontes, añadidos, y emendados por María Fernández (Alcalá 1647), translation approved in 1562/9. The object of this book is 'conservar la juventud, y retardar la vejez, y mantener la persona siempre sana, como en la flor de su edad', by means of turning one's eyes towards God, and by the use of various 'licores'; (ii) Miguel Servet, the Christianismi Restitutio, in M.S.; a Translation of his Geographical, Medical and Astrological writings, with introduction and notes by C.D. O'Malley, American Philosophical Society, vol 34 (Philadelphia 1953), p. 203, where the natural spirit is both a physiological phenomenon and an emanation from God. In these treatises, as in that of Torres Villaroel, there resides a mixture of practical medicine and religion.

parallel, rather than a series of cause and effect: the body and soul, nevertheless, are always interdependent.

#### ETHICAL WORKS

Apart from those medical treatises which deal with the care of the body and soul, there are some purely ethical works which underline the moral importance of a correct humoral balance. These works are based on the Aristotelian precept of moderation, or the golden mean, as against excess. The humours, if they are held in check, are the means by which a man moderates his passions, and leads a virtuous mode of existence. A severe humoral imbalance, on the other hand, causes an excess of certain passions, leading to an extreme, or vicious, life-style. The Jesuit priest Juan Eusebio Nieremberg describes in his Obras y días. Manual de Señores y Príncipes, the personification of virtue, the golden mean between two extremes:

se puede también dezir, que todas las virtudes componen un cuerpo de virtud entera y perfeta, cuya cabeça, y ojos son la Fé, y Prudencia: lengua la Verdad, pecho la Religión, corazón la Amistad, oídos la Obediencia, frente la Vergüenza, entrañas la Misericordia, alma la caridad, sangre la Esperança, manos la Liberalidad, hombros la Paciencia, brazos la Fortaleza, salud, y complexión la Templança, gesto la Modestia, hermosura la Justicia, estómago la Abstinencia, sexo la Castidad, pies la Perseverancia, y Seguridad, estatura, y grandeza la Humildad, pompa, y fausto la Parsimonia.<sup>9</sup>

"Templança", the virtue which moderates the passions, curbs the senses, and ensures a correct humoral balance, thus plays its part in the scheme of overall virtue.

Fray Melchor Cano's treatise entitled Tratado de la victoria de

9. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Obras y días. Manual de Señores, y Príncipes (Madrid 1641), pp. 16-17. My underlining in text. This work was first published in 1629.

si mismo is a work which owes much to Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics: it also touches upon the importance of the humours with regard to moral conduct, in its treatment of the subject of the passions. The purpose of the work is to make people care more for their souls, by recognising their faults, and modifying their behaviour accordingly; 'la virtud consiste en el medio, y los vicios en los extremos... hallará aquí el lector el origen y causa de cada vicio, y el efecto por do cada uno será conocido. Hallará remedios y medicinas muy apropiadas a cada enfermedad'.<sup>10</sup> Melchor Cano, in describing man's susceptibility to vice and the workings of the devil, dwells on various weak points, including those of temperamental imbalance:

el demonio, para sitiar y combatir nuestra conciencia, reconoce primero las fuerzas y flaqueza de ella; rodéale con ojos solícitos, para asentar la artillería do ve que más daño le podrá hacer, y entrarla por el lugar donde más flaca le hallare. Si nos ve inclinados a comer y beber, por allí nos mina con la gula; si somos coléricos, danos batería con la ira; si melancólicos o flemáticos, danos batería con la pereza y acidia (p. 305a).

Later on, Melchor Cano deals specifically with the sin of acidia, which stems from an excess of the melancholy humour:

conviene saber que en la parte irascible, allende de la ira, fundada en el humor colérico, hay otra pasión de tristeza, fundada en el humor melancólico; la cual, no siendo de sí buena ni mala, se hace o buena o mala, según es obediente o rebelde a la razón (p. 310b).

This last example sums up the link between the humours, the passions, and ethics. Moralists, in urging people to eschew the evil of extremes and to follow the path of moderation and virtue, could not ignore the question of physical health, and humoral balance.

10. El Padre Fray Melchor Cano, Tractado de la victoria de sí mismo, in BAE, Obras escogidas de filósofos, no 65 (Madrid 1873), pp. 303b-304a. Further references to this work, which was first published in 1550, are given after quotations in the text.

## WORKS ON PHYSIOGNOMY

Another type of writing on the subject of the humours was of wide interest in Golden Age Spain, for it dealt with the ever-popular subject of the link between appearance and character. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Corbacho was published, and its popularity was ensured, in part, by its description, in the third part of the book, of the four complexions or humorous types. It categorises the qualities, element, birth-sign, appearance and character of each type, not to mention their varying rates of success as lovers.<sup>11</sup> The art of physiognomy, or of deducing a man's personality from his appearance, is well represented in Jerónimo Cortes' book Phisonomía y varios secretos de naturaleza.<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of his book, Cortes gives a brief word-picture of the four character types, the choleric, the sanguine, the melancholic, and the phlegmatic:

El que fuere flaco de carne, y tuviere el cuero blanco, y en los lugares convenientes colorado, denota dominio de cólera. Y assi los coléricos naturalmente son furiosos, ayrados, y amigos de renzillas, suelen ser altos de estatura, flacos de carnes, y del color cetrino, los cabellos crespos y rubios, e inclinados potius ad malum quã ad bonum: y acostumbran soñar cosas de riñas, y de fuego, y que se hallan debatiendo unos con otros.

El que fuere grueso de carne, y blanco en el cuero, y algo colorado, señala que le predomina la sangre. Los sanguinos naturalmente son blancos, hermosos, y de cabellos llanos, son atrevidos, aunque vergonzosos, y amigos de la música, y de sciencias, benignos, liberales, y misericordiosos; y suelen soñar cosas de plazer y contento, como es parecerles que se hallan tesoros, y en conbites, saraos, y danças.

El cuerpo bruno de color, y grueso de carne, denota dominio de sangre con mezcla de melancolía. Y assi los melancólicos son

11. Corbacho, p. 180 onwards. Details, for the most part, have already been given in my chapter II, under the heading of each humorous type.

12. Jerónimo Cortes, Phisonomía y varios secretos de naturaleza (Tarragona 1609). First appeared 1595/7. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text. Two precedents to this work are Aristotle's Physiognomics and Pedro de Ribas' El libro llamado el porqué (Alcalá 1587).



tristes de condición, temerosos, y brunos de color, codiciosos, veladores, y mal comedores: tienen las venas muy escondidas, y las cejas claras. Los tales acostumbran soñar cosas tristes y de pesar, como es parecerles que caen de alto, o que huyen de algún toro, o se veen en algun aprieto y notable peligro.

El cuerpo ni muy flaco, ni muy grueso, y entre blanco y bruno, señala dominio de flegma y algo de melancolía, y notad que los flegmáticos naturalmente son dormillones, tardos de ingenio, y de cabellos blandos suelen ser temerosos, codiciosos, y flacos de cintura, digo de cintura venérea. Cuyos sueños acostumbran ser de cosas húmedas, como es hallarse en ríos, verduras, y lagunas (ff. 1-2).

The remainder of the treatise consists of a description of all conceivable types of internal and external features of the body, together with interpretations as to character. Seen as one piece, it makes for repetitive and sometimes contradictory reading; yet its attraction for the layman and the casual reader is obvious, for, given a man's appearance, it would be possible for anyone to plumb the depths of his character without previous learning and merely by having recourse to Cortes' book. Each feature has its own tale to tell. Big eyes, for example, denote a lazy person, while small or popping eyes go with a rather stupid, short-sighted personality. A man possessed of deep-set eyes is perspicacious, suspicious, bad-tempered, cruel, and has a good memory. The book, as entertainment, could scarcely be bettered; yet its moral purpose is also made clear. Cortes has set out to interpret man's personality through his baser, physical side:

phisonomía no es otra cosa, que una sciencia ingeniosa y artificiosa de naturaleza, por la qual se conoce la buena, o mala complisión, la virtud, o vicio del hombre, por la parte que es animal (f.1).

In addition to his 'parte que es animal', however, man is possessed of a reason which can curb or modify his animal propensities, as Cortes, at the conclusion of his treatise, takes care to remind the reader:

he de advertir al lector, que naturaleza no fuerza, ni necesita a

los que tienen libre alvedrío a que sigan esto o aquello: y pues el sabio y prudente es señor de todas sus acciones, puede con su industria cuitar lo malo, y seguir lo bueno (f. 15).

Piquer, in his Filosofía moral para la juventud española, links appearance with character along similar lines. Unlike Cortes, however, he does not enumerate the features of the body, but confines himself to a description of the four temperaments. If, for example, a man is thin, yellow, dry of skin, with fiery eyes and jerky gestures, then he is bilious. Piquer's didactic purpose is plainly set out. He dedicates his book to the youth of Spain, in the hope that, in pointing out the dangers inherent in becoming immoderately inclined towards one humour and its concomitant passions, he will enable the young people to know their own faults and improve their behaviour.

All the works described above, then, whether they deal with medicine, with aspects of diet and hygiene, ethics, or the study of physiognomy, are united in their didactic purpose. After revealing to each individual what type of person he is, they not only point out that he has a duty to improve himself, but they also explain how he can set about his task.

#### THE HUMOURS AND "INGENIO"

One last point of interest which was under discussion in some of the most innovatory works of the Spanish Golden Age, as well as some of the unoriginal studies, is the general question of ingenio, or, what makes a man more intelligent and full of incentive than his fellows. In the first two chapters of this study I have described how Galen attributed intelligence to the hot and dry choleric temperament;



while Aristotle asserted that it was peculiar to a certain warm type of melancholy. Some further examples, taken from Spanish sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, show that the great thinkers of the day were almost unanimous in ascribing intelligence to the melancholic temperament.

Juan Luis Vives' Tratado del alma contains a chapter on ingenio wherein he describes the mental capacity of each of the four humorous types, thus:

la pituita engendra humores espesos y provoca lentitudes en las operaciones de la inteligencia; la bilis amarilla produce reacciones rapidísimas, subitáneas; la sangre las ocasiona moderadas... pero si la bilis negra anda mezclada con los efluvios sutiles y claros, engendra habilidad de razón, de juicio, de prudencia y de sabiduría. Tales ingenios profundizados construyen y descubren muchas cosas con gran lucidez. A esto alude el dicho de Platón, tomado de Demócrito Abderita: No hay ingenio sobresaliente sin manía, esto es, el grano de locura que es efecto de la bilis negra.<sup>13</sup>

Choleric people, then, may possess extreme quickness of brain, but their intelligence usually takes the form of craft or guile, and they lack genius. Vives later categorises behaviour according to the two qualities of heat and cold, classifying the melancholy type with the phlegmatic, and the sanguine with the choleric. A man of cold temperament is 'capaz de aguantar el trabajo y persistir en él', while 'otros tienen pocas y débiles fuerzas y no pueden perseverar en la obra largo tiempo, como los biliosos y calientes de sangre' (p. 1203a). After gauging the differing capacities of the various temperamental types, Vives points out the type of work for which each is equipped:

aquellos cuyo ingenio penetra hasta lo profundo de las cosas, tienen gran valor para los asuntos de mucha gravedad e importancia. Aquellos otros que se mueven mariposeando por la superficie, son

13. Pp. 1201b-1202a. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

gentes sutiles, decidores y sofistas sin solidez alguna; fíjanse en ciertas minucias que no eran precisas para nada y para las cuales tienen los otros razonable desdén (p. 1204a).

Vives ends his chapter with a list of the various talents which different people possess: 'unos se distinguen por sus estudios; otros, por su prudencia en la conducción de los negocios; quiénes, en las artes manuales' (p. 1204a). He does not, however, refer each gift back to the type of temperament which it requires, but rather attributes this variety of talent to God: 'tal es la distribución de las dádivas de Dios; nadie puede gloriarse de haberlos recibidos todos, ni nadie quejarse de no haber recibido ninguno' (p. 1204a).

Huarte de San Juan's Examen de ingenios para las ciencias, first published in 1575, almost forty years after Vives' Tratado del alma, was the first book to link each type of temperament directly with a specific career. The fifth chapter of the 1575 version of this work (and the eighth of the corrected version, published in 1594), 'donde se prueba que de solas tres calidades, calor, humedad, y sequedad, salen todas las diferencias de ingenios que hay en el hombre' lays the foundation for Huarte's theory.<sup>14</sup> The 'proof' that dryness makes for a good understanding, moisture for a good memory, and heat for a good imagination, leans fairly heavily on the works of Aristotle and Galen, and is not original. A man's suitability for any particular career depends, according to Huarte, not on whether he is melancholy, phlegmatic, choleric or sanguine in temperament, but whether he is predominantly dry, wet, or hot. If wet, his memory is his good point, and he should study 'gramática, latín, y cualquier otra lengua; la

14. Huarte, Examen, p. ;34. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

teórica de la jurispericia; teología positiva; cosmografía y aritmética'. A preeminantly dry, or understanding man should study 'teología escolástica; teórica de la medicina; la dialéctica; la filosofía natural y moral; la práctica de la jurispericia, que llaman abogacía': while the hot, or imaginative man should embrace 'todas las artes y ciencias que consisten en figura, correspondencia, armonía y proporción; el arte militar' (p. 196).

In the matter of melancholy and ingenio, Huarte follows Aristotle's explanation and comes to the same conclusion as did Vives: that the adust, or heated, subtle form of melancholy makes for genius and wisdom. He also anticipates the criticism that intelligence, as dryness, and imagination, as heat, could better be supplied by the choleric than the melancholic type, by explaining that the choleric type, although possessed of a quick, imaginative brain, has a malicious rather than a prudent intelligence; and that, for rational wisdom, the subtle melancholic temperament is necessary.<sup>15</sup>

A rather later work, by Tomás Murillo y Velarde, entitled Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipochondricos rather entertainingly refutes the notion that the melancholic temperament makes for genius. He examines the question of ingenio thus:

También se puede preguntar, qué temperamento es el más frecuente que tienen los hombres muy ingeniosos? Comunmente ya se ha dicho de graves Autores, y del non Plus Ultra Príncipe de los filósofos Aristóteles, que el melancólico; pero con perdón de tantos varones, y de los melancólicos, más creo que los hombres templadamente sanguíneos por lo general, se aventajan en ingenio, y por esso pienso que los doctores han juzgado en favor de los melancólicos, porque ellos mismos al escribir esto, parece avían contraído melancolía, no por nativa constitución, sino por estraña arti-

15. See chapter vi (1575 edition), or chapter ix (1594 edition), pp. 156-170; 'donde se ponen algunas dudas y argumentos contra la doctrina del capítulo pasado y la respuesta dellos'.

ficia causada del continuo trabajo de los estudios, y ya casi convertida en otra naturaleza, y costumbre. 16

In the main, however, it is the melancholic temperament which is upheld by writers as being the one which gives rise to ingenio.

16. Tomás Murillo y Velarde, Aprobación de ingenios y curación de hipochóndricos (Zaragoza 1672), ff. 9-10.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: THE HUMOROUS TYPE. TWO CASE STUDIES

In making a study of the humours in Spanish literature, it is impossible to pass over the grotesque type of the seventeenth-century comedia de figurón. My preoccupation with this particular type of social comedy stems from the fact that the protagonist, as a figura, is supposed to suffer from a humoral imbalance. Covarrubias explains the term figura in this way: 'quando encontramos con algùn hombre de humor y estravagante, decimos del, que es linda figura'.<sup>1</sup> As Place explains in his article "Notes on the grotesque: the Comedia de figurón at Home and Abroad", this particular type of comedy is one in which the leading role is a ridiculous and exaggerated one, generally depicting a presumptuous, conceited and ignorant person.<sup>2</sup> In many cases, the laughably grotesque personality is reflected in peculiarities of dress and demeanour. He is, as Place points out, "anti-galán", and flouts the code of his social class.

The best depiction in literature of the grotesque character type as a person who is suffering from an excess of one of the four humours is to be found in Ben Jonson's "humours" plays. In these plays, "humour" is a pose affected by some of the characters who, far from being really ill, are putting on airs so as to be interesting:

Cob: ...what is that humour? Some rare thing, I warrant.  
Cash: Mary, Ile tell thee, Cob; it is a gentleman-like monster, bred, in the special gallantrie of our time, by affectation, and fed by folly.<sup>3</sup>

The melancholy humour is especially popular for this purpose, because

1. Quoted in Edwin B. Place, 'Notes on the Grotesque: the Comedia de figurón at Home and Abroad', PMLA, 54 (1939), p. 412, note 2.

2. Place, 'Notes on the Grotesque', p. 412.

3. Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, edited by Percy Simpson (Oxford 1919), p. 57, Act III, scene iv.

of its link, derived from sources such as Aristotle's Problem XXX, with intelligence and poetic inspiration:

Stephen: I am mightily given to melancholy.

Matthew: Oh, it's your only fine humour, sir, your true melancholy breeds your perfect fine wit, sir: I am melancholy myself divers times, sir, and then do I no more but take pen, and paper presently, and overflow you half a score, or a dozen of sonnets, at a sitting...

Stephen: Truly, sir, and I love such things, out of measure...

Matthew: Why, I pray you, sir, make use of my studie, it's at your service.

Stephen: I thanke you sir, I shall bee bold, I warrant you; have you a stoole there, to be melancholy upon?... Cousin, is it well? Am I melancholy enough?

Ed Knowall: Oh I, excellent!

Well-Bred: Captain Bobadill: why muse you so?

Ed Kn.: He is melancholy too.<sup>4</sup>

The word "humor" also crops up in Spanish Golden Age literature in connection with laughable character types. In Tirso de Molina's play Don Gil de las calzas verdes, Doña Juana's servant, Caramanchel, gives his new "master" an account of his former picaresque life and previous masters, and includes such targets for barbed criticism as a doctor, a lawyer, and a priest. He is acting, as Doña Juana acidly points out, as a 'coronista/ de los diversos señores/ que se extremeñan en humores'.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the most memorable figuras are to be found in the social comedies of Rojas Zorrilla. Raymond R. MacCurdy has said of the comedy Lo que son mujeres that the characters 'present nothing as much as escapees from a Ben Jonson "humours" play'.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, no-one in this play would appear to be normal. Doña Matea is excessive in her liking

4. Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, p. 46, Act III, scene i.

5. Tirso de Molina, Obras dramáticas completas, edited by Blanca de los Ríos, Aguilar, 3 vols (Madrid 1946-58), vol I, p. 1718a, Act I.

6. Raymond R. MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, TWAS (New York 1968), p. 129.

of young men, while her sister Serafina is unnatural in her dislike of them. The four suitors who come to present their compliments to Serafina are no less odd. Rafaela describes the first, gleefully, as having

cada pie de a media vara,  
las piernas de a caña y media;  
pues la cara lo remedia  
que es semicapón de cara  
el hombre desmadejado <sup>7</sup>,

and Serafina prepares to treat him as he deserves;

ahora estoy de buen humor,  
entre por reñnos dél. (191b)

The four suitors introduced in the first act of this play are all figuras, representing in their turn extremes of unconciliating and ingratiating behaviour; of bombastic erudition and crass ignorance. Their appearance is similarly strange; don Gonzalo, the last suitor, who talks in estribillos, has an appearance to match. Gibaja, the gracioso, describes him as having

el bigote hasta los ojos,  
y el oreja hasta las sienas.  
Asustado de color,  
crudo un lado, otro cocido. (198a);

while Serafina, true to form, derives much amusement from the grotesque nature of their mannerisms: 'todo eso es cosa de risa' (198b). However, our interest in them as figures of fun is curtailed when Gibaja, in order to awaken Serafina's interest, takes them all in hand, and orders them to change their manner. The focus is shifted from the characters themselves to Gibaja's manipulation of the plot.

7. Comedias escogidas de Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, edited by Mesonero Romanos, BAE 54 (Madrid 1952), p. 191b, Act I. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

Don Lucas, of the popular Rojas Zorrilla play Entre bobos anda el juego, provides another example of the grotesque character. He is a generally nasty person;

es un caballero flaco,  
desvaído, macilento,  
muy cortísimo de talle,  
y larguísimo de cuerpo;  
las manos, de hombre ordinario;  
los pies, un poquillo luengos,  
muy bajos de empeine y anchos,  
con sus Juanes y sus Pedros;  
zambo un poco, calvo un poco,  
dos pocos verdimoreno,  
tres pocos desaliñado  
y cuarenta muchos puerco; 8

and, more specifically, a terrible miser, although he sees himself as a wonderfully generous man. He is also argumentative to the point of violence:

quiero reñir...  
matarélos, a fe de caballero. (532b)

We find another example of the laughable quality of the grotesque in Lope's play La ilustre fregona. Don Diego changes places with his gracioso servant Pepín before they arrive at the famous inn; and he gives his new master a big build up:

es que en una enfermedad  
su buen juicio perdió,  
y tan sólo le quedó  
esta extraña variedad:  
dice que es el más galán  
que formó Naturaleza  
y se ha puesto en la cabeza  
que en brío y en ademán,  
en palabras, en razones,  
en ingenio y gravedad  
es todo al uso; mirad  
sus extrañas ilusiones.

8. Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: Twelve Plays, edited with notes by Raymond MacCurdy (New York 1971), p. 525a, Act I. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.



Como escucharle no hay fiesta,  
dando a todo el mundo tasa.

(Sale Pepín, vestido ridiculamente)

Huésped: ¡Qué figura! <sup>9</sup>

From these examples we can see that odd types or figuras are certainly to be found in Spanish drama. Being people in whom one petty vice or affectation is blown up by the author out of all proportion, they are often a vehicle for satire, and always an object of laughter and amazement to the people that surround them. Their foibles, like those of Ben Jonson's "humorous" characters, are associated with an imbalance of humours, but - and here they are not like their English counterparts - it is usually impossible to associate them with an excess of any one specific humour.

In the rest of this chapter, I am going to examine in detail two plays whose protagonists can be classified as types suffering from an excess of one particular humour. The first, Don Domingo de Don Blas, of Alarcón's play No hay mal que por bien no venga is properly a figura, while the second, Diana, of Moreto's El desdén, con el desdén, is not. <sup>10</sup> They have, nevertheless, several things in common. Both, at

9. Obras de Lope de Vega publicado por la Real Academia Española nueva edición, 13 vols (Madrid 1916-30); henceforward RAE, Obras; vol 6, p. 432a, Act I.

10. I have used the following editions for my study of these two plays; subsequent references to both of which are given after quotations in the text: Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Obras completas, edited by Agustín Millares Carlo, 3 vols (Mexico 1959), vol 3; and Agustín Moreto, El desdén, con el desdén, edited with notes and an introduction by Francisco Rico, Clásicos Castalia, 33 (Madrid 1971). Critical works consulted with regard to No hay mal... include Place, 'Notes on the Grotesque'; Ellen Claydon, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón: Baroque Dramatist, Estudios de Hispanófila, Castalia (Madrid 1970); and Otis Green, 'Juan Ruiz de Alarcón and the topos Homo deformis et Pravus', BHS, 33 (1956) pp. 99-103. Those works consulted with regard to El desdén... include Rico's Introduction to his edition of the play; Ruth Lee Kennedy, The

the beginning of their respective plays, are of cold temperament, although whereas one is phlegmatic, the other is melancholic; and both are induced by outside circumstances to undergo a temperamental change which leaves the choleric humour slightly, although not unnaturally, predominant.

#### NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA

The outstanding feature of No hay mal... is the treatment of its honour theme. This is a play of intrigue, in which a plot to overthrow Alfonso III, King of León, is hatched by Alfonso's son and heir, Prince García, together with García's favourite, Don Ramiro, father of the beautiful Leonor. This intrigue is supported by many supposedly faithful followers of the King who all turn their coats in favour of the young heir; and is only opposed by two individuals whose unswerving loyalty to the rightful ruler results in the exposure of Don García's plot and their due reward. Although this may sound like a résumé of countless other stories, it is in fact a most unusual play because, until their discovery of Prince García's dastardly plot, the two men who, by their brave efforts, brought about its downfall, were not typical Spanish Golden Age drama heroes. One, Don Juan, was little better than a delinquent; while the other, Don Domingo, seemed to care for nothing but his own comfort. This anomaly is noted, in the play, by Juan's servant Beltrán, when he remarks

¿Quién pensara que...  
...hubieran remediado

(10 cont.) Dramatic Art of Moreto, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 13 (Northampton, Mass. 1932); and Bruce W. Wardropper, 'Moreto's El desdén, con el desdén: the Comedia secularised', BHS, 34 (1957), pp. 1-9.

peligros de tanto peso  
un hombre que es tan travieso,  
y otro tan acomodado? (2642-2649)

The unusual nature of the protagonist, Don Domingo de Don Blas, has led to the classification of No hay mal que por bien no venga under the heading Comedias de carácter, with the sub-heading egoísmo extraño.<sup>11</sup> Don Domingo has been described by the critic Alfonso Reyes as a 'tipo a la inglesa, humorista que acaso evocará en algunos lectores la memoria del famoso doctor Jonson'.<sup>12</sup> He is ridiculed by the other characters in the play as a figura, and nicknamed 'el acomodado': a man whose life-style and way of thinking are built round his preoccupation with his own comfort. It could be mentioned at this point that, although he is criticized by some of the characters in the play, not all of them share the view that he is a grotesque personality, and I myself find him one of the most sympathetic characters to be found in the whole of Spanish Golden Age literature. My reason for making a close study of him, however, is not subjective, but rather lies in the fact that he is the only figura which I have come across who fits satisfactorily into the mould of one particular temperament. This study will therefore consist of placing Don Domingo in the context of the phlegmatic type, as outlined by me in the second chapter of this work; tracing the temperamental change which comes over him in the second act of the play, and comparing his temperament with that of the other "odd" character of the play, Don Juan.

11. Ellen Claydon, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, p. 21, note 31, makes a reference to the classification of Alarcón's plays by Juan Hurtado and Ángel Gómez Palencia.

12. Cited in Agustín Millares Carlo's edition of Alarcón, Obras, vol 3, p. 82.

Although we are aware of the protagonist of No hay mal... from the beginning of the play, indeed, from its sub-title (Don Domingo de Don Blas), the character himself does not appear on stage until the last few scenes of Act I. Instead, he is given a big build-up which makes his eventual entrance all the more impressive. At the beginning of the play, Don Domingo's servant Nuño describes how, in the first flush of his youth, Don Domingo followed his uncle, Don Blas, to fight for their King, Alfonso, against the Moors. Don Domingo

...era,  
aunque fue don Blas, su tío,  
valiente cuanto ninguno,  
su emulación su sobrino. (127-130)

The Spaniards took Mérida from the Moors, and in the ensuing sack of the city, Don Blas found a fortune in spoils. Don Blas died in due course, and left this fortune to his nephew, on the condition that Don Domingo take his uncle's name: hence the origin of the odd name of our hero, Don Domingo de Don Blas.

Nuño, having described his master's estado, then proceeds to give an account of his condición

en la guerra, cuando pobre,  
nadie mejor satisfizo  
la obligación de su sangre;  
nadie fue con los moriscos  
más audaz, ninguno fue  
al trabajo más sufrido,  
o al peligro más valiente;  
mas despues que se vio rico,  
sólo a la comodidad,  
al gusto del apetito,  
al descanso y al regalo  
se encaminan sus desinios,  
tanto, que 'el acomodado'  
se suele llamar él mismo. (163-176)

Before the action of the play begins, a temperamental change has taken place in Don Domingo's body: his nature has changed from the hot, dry choleric nature of the youthful fighter to the cold, wet, phlegmatic

nature of a type who are 'Given much unto their ease, to rest and sloth,.../ To put themselves to any pain most loth'.<sup>13</sup> This change of temperament is caused by Don Domingo's change in habits, from being a poor man of action to a rich one with nothing to do. Huarte, in his Examen de ingenios, makes exactly the same point, explaining that easy living makes for mental laziness, because the body produces more moisture, which slows down the workings of the brain;

de aquí sabrá ya la gente vulgar la razón y causa de donde nace que, subiendo el hombre sabio y virtuoso a alguna gran dignidad - siendo antes pobre y humilde - muda luego las costumbres y la manera de razonar. Y es por haber adquirido nuevo temperamento, húmedo y vaporoso, con el cual se borran las figuras que de antes tenía en la memoria; y le entorpece el entendimiento.<sup>14</sup>

Huarte's intelligent person becomes forgetful and mentally torpid because of a change from difficult to easy living. Don Domingo's change in nature would seem to stay on a more physical plane, but the same change from a dry to a wet temperament applies. His general outlook on life, as epitomised in his nick-name, el acomodado, seems to be a perfect reflection of the idea of the phlegmatic temperament as described in the excerpt from the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum, cited above.

Don Domingo's phlegmatic temperament, then, is a product of a change in his habits to an easy, restful, comfortable way of life. This change led to an upsurge of the phlegmatic humour, which made for an alteration in the temperature of his body from hot and dry to cold and wet. The new predominating humour, phlegm, slowed down his brain with its cold and moisture, and influenced his outlook on life. Don

13. Regimen, p. 138.

14. Huarte, Examen, pp. 140-141.

Domingo, in the first half of the play, is dominated by this phlegmatic temperament, with the result that he is physically torpid, and passionless. The humour is not so cold that he is mentally torpid, however.

Our introduction to the person of Don Domingo is not a disappointment. In two interviews, one with a hat-maker, and the other with a tailor, el acomodado stresses the overriding importance of his comfort by insisting, against all the protestations of two fashion-conscious professionals, that comfort must come before appearance. The hat which is proffered to him is too large by far:

el vestido ha de servir  
de ornato y comodidad;  
pues si basta la mitad  
deste sombrero a cumplir  
con el uno y otro intento  
¿para qué es bueno que ande,  
si me lo pongo tan grande,  
forcejando con el viento;  
y si en una parte quiero  
entrar que es baja, obligarme  
a descubrirme o doblarme,  
o topar con el sombrero? (713-724).

The cloak, likewise, is too long for comfort; Don Domingo complains that an ankle-length garment would be far too cumbersome, and insists that the tailor make him one that is waist-length, adding sensibly, 'vos tendréis menos que hacer,/ y yo menos que pagar' (811-812).

After making sure that the area in which he is to live is quiet, with no danger of importunate people or dogs to disturb his tranquility, Don Domingo rents the house that Don Juan was hankering after, and begins, rather half-heartedly, to court his next-door neighbour, Leonor. This lady's opinion of her new suitor is, on the whole, unfavourable:

Ha dado en quererme bien,  
y, aunque tiene calidad,  
y es muy rico y no nada necio,

por figura le desprecio;  
porque la comodidad  
con tal cuidado procura,  
que en esta vida no tiene  
otra atención, y así viene  
el extremo a ser locura. (1016-1024)

Don Domingo's method of courting Leonor is unusual and quite delightful. Cutting an amusing figure in his short cape and tiny hat, he interrupts Leonor's ironic apology for keeping him waiting with an airy 'no ha sido incomodidad;/ que la aguardaba sentado' (1043-1044). Leonor's cousin, Constanza, urges Leonor to put Don Domingo's passion to the test, and Leonor proceeds to do so, by hinting that Don Domingo's suit would prosper more if he put more effort into his courting:

...quiero que a\_dvirtáis,  
si en mi afición proseguís,  
que tan difícil conquista  
en mi esquivaza emprendéis,  
que apenas alcanzaréis  
una palabra, una vista,  
sin que para merecellas  
más veces el albor os halle  
dando quejas en mi calle,  
que contéis el cielo estrellas (1115-1124).

Don Domingo's eminently logical reply makes us - and Leonor - realise how far removed he is from the typical enamoured hero:

cuando paguéis mi cuidado  
tras de tanto trasnchar,  
¿qué fruto podrás sacar  
de amante tan serenado?  
Si os han de tocar mis daños,  
¿no es mejor quererme ahora,  
cuando tengo yo, señora,  
más salud y menos años? (1129-1136)

Finding Leonor rather excessive in her demands, Don Domingo decides to hedge his bets by paying his addresses to Constanza as well; and he is strengthened in this resolve when Don Juan informs him, between clenched teeth, that Leonor is already promised. As he explains to Nuño, no woman is worth that much trouble:

no era cordura  
reñir por una hermosura  
que tiene achaque de ajena.  
Si en esto culparme quieres,  
es necedad conocida;  
porque no hay más de una vida,  
Nuño, y hay muchas mujeres. ( 1473-1479)

Leonor's father and the treacherous Prince García's favourite, Don Ramiro, is also given an indication of Don Domingo's individual code of behaviour when the latter refuses to take any active part in the festivities which are being organised by Prince García in Zamora. Wishing to know in what way he has offended the Prince, that he has to exert himself in rushing around a bull-ring, Don Domingo offers a most generous sum of money instead. Don Ramiro says, to the young man's departing back;

injusto nombre os ha dado  
la fama, que loco os llama;  
que mejor puede la fama  
llamaros desengañado. (1353-1356)

Before going on to trace the sudden change which occurs in Don Domingo's temperament, I would like briefly to compare this attractively phlegmatic character with that of Don Juan. This young man, at the outset of the play, has his feet firmly set on the road to ruin. He has lost all his wealth, in a perfectly acceptable manner, by spending it in attempts to win Leonor's favour. What is not acceptable, however, either for the reader of the play or for Don Juan's companions, is the dishonest manner in which he tries to accumulate more money. We are not witnesses to the first of his tricks, as we find that he has established a reputation for himself in Zamora before the action of the play begins: Don Ramiro, when asked by the Prince if he will accept Don Juan as a son-in-law, excuses himself, explaining that

...por su engañoso trato



y costumbres es agora  
la fábula de Zamora,  
y atiende tan sin recato  
sólo a hacer trampas y enredos,  
que ya faltan en sus menguas  
para murmuralle lenguas,  
y para apuntalle dedos. (453-460)

Don Juan's fault lies, not so much in his dishonesty, as in the fact that he expects his nobility and impeccable lineage to render unimportant any crime which he commits. He attributes to spite and meanness Don Ramiro's refusal to accept him as a son-in-law:

veme pobre, y es avaro.  
¡Ah, cielos! ¡Que el interés  
escurezca así a quien es  
por su linaje tan claro! (553-556)

Don Juan is, in short, flouting Alarcón's most precious code of honour, which is best outlined in La verdad sospechosa by Don Beltrán, as he reprimands his erring son, Don García:

sólo consiste en obrar  
como caballero, el serlo...  
Luego si vos  
obraís afrentosos hechos,  
aunque seáis hijo mío,  
dejáis de ser caballero;  
luego si vuestras costumbres  
os infaman en el pueblo,  
no importan paternas armas,  
no sirven altos abuelos. (1420-1427)

Don Juan, in using his ancestors' virtues as a cloak to mask his own misdeeds, is, according to Alarcón's moral code, committing the gravest error. He is, in effect, blinded by his passion for Leonor; 'ciego estoy y estoy perdido' (561), to the extent that his morals are topsy-turvy.

Don Juan and Don Domingo are similar in that their minds are ruled by their bodies, rather than the other way around. The state of Don Domingo's mind is dictated, as I have already explained, by his

habits; whereas Don Juan is ruled by passions which, according to the old physiology, stemmed from the heart. Because his reason is subordinated to his passion, Don Juan is no better than an animal, possessed of a sensible, but not a rational, soul. He has no code of honour, he works on an instinct for self-preservation; he is, in short, ciego. In temperament, he is probably suffering from an excess of hot, dry choler, which would make his temper violent, and his actions bold, rash, and unthinking. However, Alarcón is not specific on this point, and it would be fruitless to guess at something we are not told. Suffice it to say that Don Juan, as a man who is morally in the wrong and blinded by passion, is also suffering from a humoral imbalance.

At the dramatic height of the play, in the middle of the second act, a twist in the plot brings about an instant and irreversible change of temperament in Don Domingo; and the protagonist, in his turn, produces a similar change in the temperament of Don Juan. El acomodado is at his most comfortable, sitting down to dinner at his leisure, when a summons from Prince García is brought to him. This summons, as we have already been told, will take the form of a secret meeting between the dissident Prince and each of his father's subjects, to tell them individually of García's plot to overthrow his father, and to ask for their support. Anyone refusing this support will be imprisoned in Don Ramiro's house, so that no inkling of the plot can reach the wrong ears. The arrival of the summons tells us that Don Domingo's turn has come to hear of the plot. From what we have already learnt of Don Domingo's methods, we would expect him to finish a leisurely dinner, to hear of the plot in his own good time, and perhaps to take the easiest way out by offering some more money to the Prince. In receiving a

summons from Royalty, Don Domingo's honour is touched. The transformation from phlegm to action is instantaneous:

Nuño: ¿No quieres cenar, señor?  
Domingo: En tocando el pundonor,  
Nuño, de todo me olvido.  
Siempre vivo a lo que estoy,  
según mi sangre, obligado;  
que por ser acomodado,  
no dejo de ser quien soy. (1737-1743)

The brave, choleric fighting spirit which, according to Nuño, was Don Domingo's in the days when he fought the Moors, has surged hotly in his breast (perhaps rather too quickly to be credible):

Domingo: En tocando al pundonor,  
Nuño, revive el valor,  
y muere en mí lo demás. (1752-1754)

This change in Don Domingo's temperament is emphasised in the next scene, when Don Juan, thinking that Don Domingo has deliberately maligned him in front of Leonor, is as usual spoiling for a fight. However, neither he nor Beltrán entertains much hope of such a fight taking place; Beltrán refers to Don Domingo as a coward, and Don Juan, agreeing with this, attributes the trait of cowardness to the phlegmatic temperament; 'el ser muy acomodado/ arguye poco valor' (1856-1857). Don Domingo, doubtless still attired in his comfortable if ridiculously short cape, rushes on stage at this point, and has no objection to fighting, although, because of his important appointment with the Prince, he would have preferred to fight another day. He is not given the choice, however; Don Juan draws his sword, only to regret his action in a moment; 'no vi tan valiente acero/ jamás' (1904-1905).

The comparison between phlegm and unwillingness to fight with choler and a good fighting spirit is one which occurs, incidentally, in the works of other writers of the Golden Age. When another Don

Juan, that of Tirso's Don Gil de las calzas verdes, is spoiling for a fight, he is told by Don Martín,

la cólera requemada  
cortad por lo que os importa;...  
yo, que más flema tengo,  
no riño sin ocasión. 16

The word cólera usually occurs with reference to a fighter, as in this remark made by the gracioso Buscón in Moreto's play Cómo se vengán los nobles:

yo... nunca soy valiente  
ni colérico sanguino,  
sino la paz de la tierra. 17

In the third act of No hay mal... Don Domingo not only maintains his new fiery temperament, but even manages to stir up the same emotions in Don Juan's breast. Don Juan and Beltrán break into Don Ramiro's house at night with intent to rob the older man, and in looking for Don Ramiro's money, Don Juan stumbles instead on Don Domingo, who, because he refused to be an accomplice in Prince García's plot to overthrow the King, has been imprisoned in the house of the Prince's favourite. Don Domingo explains the circumstances to Don Juan in a magnificently rousing speech. The image which he uses to describe the change in his temperament from phlegmatic to choleric is, significantly, in terms of cold wetness and dry heat, and is therefore worth reproducing here in full:

16. Tirso de Molina, Obras, vol I, p. 1734b, Act II. Compare with Don Gabriel, of Tirso's play Amar por señas, who wins all the jousting prizes with his 'cólera adusta'; Obras, vol I, p. 1769b, Act I.

17. Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, Comedias escogidas de don Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, edited by don Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, BAE, vol 39 (Madrid 1950); p. 427c, Act I.

nunca, don Juan, pensara  
que la lealtad dormida  
en ocios de la vida  
con tan ardiente furia despertara  
a una voz halagueña,  
que el daño esconde cuando el premio enseña.  
¿Veis cómo en sus entrañas  
el alquitrán oculto disimulan  
cuando en las cumbres, que al Olimpo emulan,  
ostentan blanca nieve las montañas  
que dan tumba a la vida y al deseo  
del soberbio sacrílego Tifeo;  
y si es entonces de centella breve  
concitado el azufre, espesa nube  
y ceniza es después cuando fue nieve,  
dando al asombro tantos escarmientos,  
cuanto el estruendo espantos a los vientos?  
Pues el incendio veis, y veis la furia  
con que mi pecho reventó a la injuria  
de la lealtad que guarda mi nobleza  
a mi rey natural;... (2117-2137)

Snow, or water, is the macrocosmic element corresponding with the microcosmic phlegmatic humour; while Don Domingo himself equates fire with fury, or choler (2134). Turning on Don Juan, he exhorts this dumbfounded criminal to re-kindle his own innate spark of honourable valour, which has been dulled by bad habit:

de la sangre leal el fuego ardiente...  
no se apaga jamás; sólo se oculta  
cuando el vicio en cenizas se sepulta;  
y en vos, si oculto yace, yace vivo  
entre los yerros el valor nativo.  
Produzca, pues, incendios cuando el viento  
de la traición, con animoso aliento,  
de vuestra sangre incita la centella. (2190-2198)

Don Juan, immensely moved by this patriotic speech, hastens to advise the King of the treasonable plot. He explains to an understandably disappointed Beltrán that the robbery will not now take place, for

...ya los cielos  
mi inclinación mudaron,  
que al fuego de lealtad me acrisolaron. (2273-75)

Don Domingo's rousing exhortation has had as permanent an effect on

Don Juan's temperament as the news of the plot had on that of el acomodado: the word 'inclinación', chosen in favour of 'intención', indicates this. Don Juan's predominant humour, choler, has not changed, but the passions which an excess of this humour engenders have been diverted to their proper channels.

The plot is discovered, and the uprising suppressed before it has properly begun. Don Juan and Don Domingo, who chose honour and possible death, are rewarded for their loyalty by marriage to women of their choice, and, in Don Juan's case, a gift of property. Social order is restored.

Honour, in No hay mal que por bien no venga, is the trigger which brings about the harmonious ending of the play. In comparison with honour, love is a theme of much less importance; love makes enemies of Don Domingo and Don Juan, whereas honour draws them together. When the imprisoned Don Domingo is offered the choice between Constanza's hand in marriage if he will fall in with Prince García's plot, and death if he remains stubbornly loyal to the old King Alfonso, he does not even waver: life and love have no attraction if honour is dead. As a result of this decision, and of Don Domingo's influence over Don Juan, honour wins the day, and love is thrown in as a reward.

This is a pattern which is typical of much of Spanish Golden Age literature, and my preoccupation lies not so much in the interplay between the theme of honour and society as a whole, but rather the physical effect which a preoccupation with honour has upon an individual. The rational notion of the necessity of acting in an honourable manner is translated to the senses, as we saw by the

imagery of heat and fire, as a hot emotion which is akin to fury. The emotion does not, however, take over the rational soul, but is used by it as a tool. This ensures that the hot, violent, choleric emotion is directed only to a good end. As a result of this physical reaction to a mental stimulus, two men who, at the outset of the play, were socially unacceptable people, become praiseworthy heroes. By the end of the play, there is nothing whatsoever to choose between the criminally intentioned Don Juan and the phlegmatic, comfort-loving Don Domingo: they are both valiant heroes. And, speaking subjectively for a moment, they have become much less interesting. A sequel to this play would be unthinkable; their part is played.

In the two characters of Don Domingo and Don Juan, we are given an illustration of two directions in which an excess of one of the bodily humours can lead. Don Domingo is an example of the first direction. His temperamental imbalance has made him a figure of fun, a literally humorous type. For as long as he remains predominantly phlegmatic, he is ridiculed, despised, but mainly laughed at. Don Juan, while acting in a slightly subordinate role to that of Don Domingo de Don Blas, nevertheless is an example of a more important and dangerous consequence of a humoral imbalance; which is to let the choleric passions override the reason, and turn to violence. The channelling of the passions engendered by an excessive volume and heating of the choleric humour into paths of tyrannical violence and evil holds a big place in Spanish literature, especially in the works of Rojas Zorrilla, Tirso and Calderón, and will therefore occupy a separate chapter in this study. Suffice it to say that

Don Juan is a minor, and temporary, offender in this field.

A predominance of one humour over the other three can lead to a third type of character whose complaint really embraces the grotesque and evil types: this type is, simply, ill. As we know, because of the interaction between body and soul, a humoral imbalance gives rise to physical and mental sickness, and so the divisions I have just made into three types may seem arbitrary. However, my criterion has been to follow the definitions made by the authors and characters of the works under study: if, therefore, a mention is made of sickness, then I take the character in question to be ill. If, on the other hand, the emphasis is on evil or risible appearance, then my definition has followed suit.

This third category of humoral imbalance as sickness leads me to the second detailed study of this chapter: that of the heroine Diana, of Moreto's El desdén, con el desdén, who, so the other characters in the play believe, is most definitely in need of a cure of the worst illness from which a woman can suffer in a male-dominated society: a thorough dislike of the opposite sex.

#### EL DESDEN, CON EL DESDEN

El desdén, con el desdén has long been valued as a play which poses and solves interesting intellectual and psychological problems. Its heroine, Diana, spurns all attempts made by her various suitors and by her father to persuade her to choose a husband, until her hatred of men is overcome by the hero Carlos' pretended disdain for her. Spurning all adulation, she is piqued and insulted by Carlos' behaviour, and driven to fall in love with him.



However, the notion of spurning that which is all too easily attained, while longing for the unattainable, is not the only problem which Moreto discusses in this play; but is, on the contrary, just one possible means towards the correct end which is central to the play. This 'end' is the idea of the rightness of loving, as opposed to the unnatural behaviour of Diana in disdainful love. Diana is in error as regards her opinion of men, and her mistaken judgement must be altered and corrected in order for her to conform with nature and with society, through loving and through marriage to Carlos. The psychology applied by Carlos, in showing disdain towards the mujer esquiva and thus bringing her to heel, is merely the means towards this end of correcting an error. These two notions, of the unreasonable behaviour of women who refuse to fall in love, and of the opposing forces of attraction and disdain, have been used before, both by Moreto, and by other writers such as Lope.<sup>18</sup> The result has always been the same; the disdainful woman is piqued by similar behaviour on the part of the hero into becoming loving and faithful; and, if she were ever against the idea of loving, she is made to see the error of her ways.<sup>19</sup>

With regard to the former problem, one is tempted, although this is a futile exercise for critics, to wonder whether the 'happy ending' will remain happy, after the hero has declared his true feel-

18. Lope de Vega, La hermosa fea, Los milagros del desprecio, La vengadora de las mujeres; Moreto, El poder de la amistad.

19. Lope's heroine in La vengadora de las mujeres is a woman who is against loving. Moreto's El poder de la amistad, on the other hand, is a play about a woman who is rendered disdainful because her suitor is too attentive.

ings. In Moreto's play El poder de la amistad, the hero, Alejandro, helped by his two friends, succeeds in making Margarita fall in love with him by feigning indifference towards her and love for another woman. Unlike Diana of El desdén..., Margarita is not prejudiced against love, but is only indifferent to Alejandro because he is too obvious in his attentions. The gracioso, Moclín, sums up the situation in an address to love:

...eres niño, y como niño adoras;  
que si una cosa tienes la desprecias,  
y si lo ves en otra mano lloras.<sup>20</sup>

The psychology behind the workings of this play is perfectly sound, but the chop-and-change of emotions upon which it depends makes for a falsely secure ending: what is to stop Margarita, now that she is sure of Alejandro's love, from becoming indifferent towards him, as a possession too easily won? The excitement is in the chase.

The difference between El poder de la amistad and El desdén, con el desdén lies not only in Diana's deep-seated desire never to become emotionally involved with any man, but in Moreto's careful tracing of a deep emotional change which takes place within the heroine and which is both as irreversible as possible, and psychologically more interesting and convincing than the dog-in-the-manger attitude which motivated Margarita. Diana's switch from disdain to loving acquiescence is underlined by a physical change in temperament from the cold dryness of melancholy to hot choler, subsiding by the denouement to a more equable balance. The physical nature of Diana's problem is stressed by Moreto by means of the imagery he uses through-

20. Comedias escogidas, p. 34b, Act III.

out the play. Diana, as the other characters see her, is ill, and must be cured; the illness is her disdain, and she is cured because she changes from disdain to loving. The promise of marriage to Carlos restores the balance both in society and in the microcosm of her body. In this way, the traditional lovers' antitheses of sickness and health, of hot and cold passions, which abound in this play, rediscover their literal interpretation. In order to explain these points more fully, the subject matter and language of the play need to be examined from various angles. My study will take into account Diana's state of mind as we see it at the beginning of the play; the cures which the various characters try to effect on Diana, and the tracing of the changes consequent on these cures.

Diana's singular nature is conveyed to us from the very beginning of the play; first, in what the characters around her have to say about her behaviour, and second, through what she herself says and does. The hero, Carlos, who has fallen in love with Diana before the action of the play begins, describes her to his servant, the gracioso Polilla, as an 'estraña mujer'; and this epithet is used again by Carlos later on in the first scene. Diana's strangeness consists in her not wishing to get married, as one of her other suitors, Bearne, points out to her, when he tells her not to be surprised at his wishing to court her:

y no extrañéis el deseo,  
que más estraña es en vos  
la aversión al casamiento. (816-818)

Ostensibly explaining the matter of his falling in love (out of pique, naturally!) to Polilla, Carlos gives us, in the long speech of the play's opening scene, a detailed account of Diana's strange-

ness. He describes her appearance as unremarkable;

una hermosura modesta,  
con muchas señas de tibia,  
mas sin defecto común  
ni perfección peregrina (85-88)

and her behaviour as excessive,

pues en la estraña demasía  
de su entereza pasaba  
del decoro la medida  
y, excediendo de recato,  
tocaba ya en grosería. (139-143)

Chastity in this extreme form, in other words, is not considered a virtue, but a fault, or even, bearing in mind Moreto's constant use of the word decoro as the golden mean in lady-like behaviour, a vice: grosería. This lack of virtue argues a sickness of the brain, or temperamental imbalance in Diana's body which has deluded her into thinking that an extreme, or vice, is a behavioural norm, or virtue. She is acting wrongly.

Carlos goes on to describe to Polilla Diana's case-history and the cause of her condición esquiva (166). An intelligent woman, she turned to reading and study:

...averigué que Diana,  
del discurso las primicias,  
con las luces de su ingenio,  
le dio a la filosofía. (173-176)

As a result, Diana comes to hate men, and to shrink from the very idea of marriage. Taking refuge from reality in a world of myth, the goddess of chastity shuts herself in her boudoir, surrounds herself with ladies, or nymphs sympathetic, so she thinks, to her cause, and drowns the pleas of father and suitor alike in a welter of music which reflects her disdain. The stages of her semi-retirement from the world are carefully recorded by Carlos:

Deste estudio y la lición  
de las fábulas antiguas,  
resultó un común desprecio  
de los hombres, unas iras  
contra el orden natural  
del Amor...  
tan estable en su opinión,  
que da con sentencia fija  
el querer bien por pasión  
de las mujeres indigna. (177-188)

I would like, for a moment, to forget the mythological connotations which are described further on in Carlos' speech and which have been well studied by Rico in his introduction to the play, and to dwell on the more literal aspects of the effects of Diana's reading. I have already described how, according to Aristotle, clever people tend to be of melancholy temperament.<sup>21</sup> Conversely, people who study become melancholic because the physical inactivity and the excessive working of the brain which are part and parcel of studying have a cooling, drying effect on the body. It is therefore not only the content of the philosophical works, but also the action of reading which causes Diana's dislike of men. She is, in short, merely feeling the cold, dry passions of hatred and fear which are typical of the melancholy person: she hates men; she is afraid of love. The above quotation contains other clues to the nature of Diana's temperament which, when spotted, serve to strengthen the view that she is a melancholic type. The 'iras/ contra el orden natural' which she feels, and the whole-hearted nature of her hatred are an echo of the Arcipreste de Talavera's description of the melancholy type as 'onbres muy yrados, syn tiento nin mesura'.<sup>22</sup> In the same way, Diana's

21. See chapter II, pp. 56-57.

22. Corbacho, p. 183.

single-mindedness and firmness, emphasised in the words 'estable en su opinión' and 'sentencia fija', are a direct reflection of Huarte de San Juan's description of the effect which cold has on the pictures or ideas of the brain: 'por comprimir las figuras y no dejarlas levantar, hace al hombre firme en su opinión'.<sup>23</sup> Diana has all the melancholy characteristics of idée fixe, cold passions, and unreasonable, misanthropic behaviour, which are the result of her intelligence and way of life. She is, as Carlos recognises, ruled, not by her reason, but by her cold, melancholy passions:

la razón no la obliga,...  
con tal furia se irrita,  
en hablándola de amor,  
que tiene (el Conde) que la encamina  
a un furor desesperado, (212-217).

As the characters surrounding her realise, she is a sick woman, obsessed by her hatred, her 'desprecio común' (245), and excessive in her reactions.

In meeting the heroine, Diana, for the first time, we are faced with an ironical, and humorous, situation. We have learnt, from Carlos' description of her and from the discussion in the next scene between the Count, her father, and her suitors, that Diana is considered to be an unreasonable and unnatural woman. (Her attraction, by the way, would appear to lie both in her high standing as heiress to a coronet and in the seemingly irresistible outcome of her disdain). Diana herself, on the other hand, seems to feel that she is the only rational being amidst a pack of sentimentalist. As she listens to the song which tells, appropriately, of Daphne's escape

23. Huarte, Examen, p. 138.

from Apollo, she is pleased by this reminder of another's disdain, and, in her subsequent argument with Cintia, one of her ladies-in-waiting, she ostensibly takes the part of reason. Diana maintains that it is right to shun love, and therefore equally correct to avoid feeling gratitude towards a suitor, as gratitude opens the door to acquiescence and subsequently love: 'el agradecer es/ peligro de la caída' (605-606). In fact, Diana is not being reasonable at all, but is rather being influenced by the cold passion of fear, which is warning her against setting off a series of emotional reactions over which, because she is ruled by emotion rather than reason, she would have no control. Cintia, who is on the side of love, sees Diana's reasoning as the perversion it is:

¡Que por error su agudeza  
quiera el amor condenar  
y, si lo es, quiera enmendar  
lo que erró Naturaleza! (555-558)

Inevitably, Diana takes the only way out of an argument which she cannot win by means of reasonable persuasion. She resorts unfairly to shouting:

¿Qué es querer? Tú hablas así,  
o atrevida o sin cuidado;  
sin duda te has olvidado  
que estás delante de mí.  
¿Querer se ha de imaginar?  
¿En mi presencia querer?  
Mas esto no puede ser... (635-641)

Such, then, is Diana's state of mind as we see it at the end of the exposition of the play. An intelligent woman, who thinks herself reasonable and right, she is in fact a woman who is ruled by passions of the cold, melancholy type and whose judgement is therefore not to be trusted.

That the characters who surround her realise that there is something wrong with Diana I have already illustrated in part: what remains to be examined are the steps which these characters take to restore her to normality. Some of these efforts are in vain; others, notably those made by Carlos and Polilla, have the desired effect.

In the scene which separates Carlos' description of Diana's state and our own experience of it in the boudoir scene, Carlos and Polilla are joined by Diana's father, the Count, and by two more of Diana's suitors, the Prince of Bearne, and Don Gastón, the Count of Fox. Bearne and Don Gastón, in discussing the problem of Diana's 'capricho injusto' (460), suggest the cures of time, the great healer, and the use of reasonable argument:

D. Gastón: ...el tiempo sólo o la razón la muda. (453);  
while Bearne suggests to the Count 'danos licencia tú de hablar con ella,/ que el trato y la razón puede mudalla' (509). However, as we have seen, Diana is determined not to be placed under any obligations whatsoever: there will be no chink in her armour through which these reasonable arguments can penetrate. Reason, moreover, will make no impression on a mind like Diana's, where reason has been suppressed by a cold, passionate hatred.

Don Gastón's suggestion that time itself may effect a cure is echoed by Polilla, and borne out by the ending of the play. Polilla's contention is that Diana, like a fig, will inevitably ripen into an amorous state of mind; and that Carlos' only worry is to make sure that she falls into the right arms:

...cuidado a la caída,  
que el cogerla es lo que importa;  
que ella caerá, como hay viñas (420-422).



During the first three expository sections of the play, that is, Carlos' conversation with Polilla, the Count's discussion with his daughter's suitors, and Diana's argument with Cintia, we see various forces at work. Cintia, on the side of love, openly disagrees with Diana, but is silenced. Diana's father, Don Gastón and Bearne advocate as a cure the use of reason and the exercise of patience. Polilla stresses to his master the inevitable nature, given time, of Diana's change of heart. Whether these rather negative tactics would have eventually brought about the desired change, we are unable to say. Diana so far emerges as the strongest personality, and it is doubtful whether she would have been so easily swayed. However, from now on, Carlos and Polilla set in train a series of cures which not only bring about a profound change in temperament in Diana, but even make her fall in love with the right man. Each successful onslaught on their part represents a battle won in the war against love's enemy, melancholy.

Our first intimation that Carlos is about to undertake a secret and effective plan of his own devising comes just before we make our acquaintance with Diana. The cure is only hinted at; 'he de seguir otro camino/ de vencer un desdén tan desusado' (535-536), but we know that its success depends on Polilla's ingratiating himself with Diana. The cure consists, as we know from the title of the play, in Carlos' feigned disdain of Diana, backed up by advice and comment made by Polilla to Diana in favour of Carlos' plan. Polilla's first visit to Diana, however, as the irrepressible Caniquí, contributes by itself towards Diana's cure.

Rico, in his introduction to the Clásicos Castalia edition of

the play, analyses the part which "Caniquí" plays at this stage, describing the 'médico de amor' as

un síntoma del problema intelectual analizado en la pieza. Definido como 'médico de amor' (657), se aplica, en efecto, a curar a Diana de ese 'mal' (671, 699). Porque sin duda sufre ella de una enfermedad erótica'.<sup>24</sup>

However, Rico does not explain how Polilla, in the guise of a doctor, effects Diana's cure. It would therefore seem to me that this explanation is offered on the level of imagery rather than action: Diana is "ill", she needs a "doctor", who is provided in the person of Caniquí and who makes for an amusing scene full of medical puns.

I would like to examine this scene more closely, stressing that Polilla's role of doctor initiates Diana's change of physical temperament, and at the same time pointing out the ironies which are inherent in my particular reading of the scene.

Polilla's intention, as we have seen, is to gain Diana's confidence and thus act as a successful go-between in the inverted love-affair of Diana and Carlos. In order for Diana to be able to fall in love, however, her temperament must undergo a change from cold to hot so that she may be able to experience the hot passion of love. For this reason, Polilla's aside, as he steps into Diana's room, contains a reference to heat: he wants to set Diana on fire; '(¡Plegue al cielo que dé fuego/ mi entrada!.)' (646-647). Like Diana, he is aware that, for love to find a way into her heart, a chink must somehow be made in her armour. Ironically, he tells Diana one thing even as he himself finds another way. Diana is avoiding gratitude at all costs - she is physically incapable at this juncture of feeling such a warm

emotion anyway - and Polilla echoes this need for caution in one of Moreto's most memorable sentences; 'el beso es el queso/ de los ratones de amor' (693-694). Ostensibly, Caniquí is like Diana in wanting to avoid love at all costs; the only difference being that, whereas Diana has been disillusioned in theory, Caniquí has learnt from bitter experience. Polilla's, or Cupid's arrow, meanwhile, comes from a different and most unexpected direction: in simply talking to Diana he is initiating the cure. Diana, who professes to hate all men, is not only talking to a man, but is vastly entertained by him. She does not see the danger because the enemy, Polilla, is concealed under the cloak of her ally, Caniquí. She is looking in the wrong direction, anyway. All this gives rise to the irony of the scene: Caniquí has come to learn from Diana, while all the time Polilla is teaching Diana how to experience a warmer, friendly passion. Thus the insidious moth in her breast, the seat of her heart whence all passion flows.

Diana: ¿No sois médico?  
Polilla:                   Hablador,  
                  y así seré platicante. (697-698)  
Polilla:                   Ansí,  
                  ¿gusta mi conversación?  
Diana:                   Sí. (687-689)  
Diana:                   Lo que yo había menester  
                  para mi divertimiento  
                  tengo en vós.  
Polilla:                   Con ese intento  
                  vine yo. (719-722)

This underhand treatment is, to retain the medical idiom, speedily followed by a taste for Diana of her own medicine. First, however, Diana is permitted to follow her whim of turning up her nose at her two most devoted suitors, Bearne and Don Gastón. Her re-affirmation of her policy of disdain underlines our impression of her as a woman

who suffers from a temperamental imbalance; the cold passion is nature to her, 'el desdén que yo tengo/ ...es natural en mi pecho' (944-946).

By the end of Act I, however, it is not disdain which is, uppermost in her breast, but a much warmer, if no more pleasant, passion. When Carlos explains to Diana that he is dancing attendance on her merely to be polite, rather than because he is in love with her, Diana's vanity causes the first stirrings of an interest which would appear to stem from pique. Half-way through her conversation with Carlos, Diana, in an amused aside to Cintia, asks '¿No será bueno/ enamorar a este loco?' (1002-1003). By the end of the interview, Diana is no longer amused, but rather cross and determined; 'aunque me cueste un cuidado/ he de rendir este necio' (1045-1046). She has staked something, her peace of mind, on winning over Carlos. Her interest is aroused; which, medically speaking, is a good thing, as it takes her out of herself. In feeling irritation with Carlos, her cold passions have been stirred up, and a new, warmer passion is beginning to circulate in her veins. Polilla has noted this, and encourages Carlos to pursue this most difficult course: 'señor, llévalo adelante,/ y verás si no da fuego' (1051-1052).

In the second act of the play, we watch Diana's mood change from a mild fit of pique to a frenzy of fury and humiliation. Two episodes, each containing insultingly disdainful behaviour on the part of Carlos, occupy the bulk of this act. The first episode is that of choosing partners for the Carnival festivities by means of matching colours of ribbon; the second takes place in Diana's garden, where, flanked by her ladies-in-waiting, she tries, charmingly en

deshabille, to lure Carlos with her siren song, and is humiliatingly rebuffed. It is important to note that, at this stage of the proceedings, Diana's motive is that of revenge, although her eventual change of heart is hinted at. In studying these two episodes, I shall therefore draw attention to the difference between Diana's reactions as she herself sees them, and the changes in her temperament which are noticed by the other characters.

At the beginning of the ribbon-choosing ceremony, Diana, pleased at the prospect of giving Carlos a sharp set-down, decides to favour him:

este medio he pensado  
para rendirle a mi amor:  
yo he de hacerle más favor'. (1169-1171)

The favour in this case consists of engineering the ribbon-choosing ceremony so that, whichever colour ribbon Carlos has, Diana will have one to match his. She is confident that, with Caniquí's help, Carlos will succumb readily to her charms, and her revenge will be complete:

Polilla: y si le vieses querer,  
¿qué harás después de tentalle?  
Diana: ¿Qué? Ofendelle, desprecialle,  
ajalle y dalle a entender  
que ha de rendir sus sosiegos  
a mis ojos por despojos. (1205-1210)

When Polilla asks her whether it would not be better to be merciful, she replies with scorn;

¿Qué llamas piedad?...  
¿Qué es amor?...  
¿Qué es lo que dices? ¿Querer?  
¿Yo me había de rendir?  
Aunque le viera morir,  
no me pudiera mover. (1216-1224)

Carlos, miserably in love, can detect no change in Diana's temperament; '(¿Hay mujer más singular?/ ¡Oh, cruel!....) (1225-1226).

Polilla, on the other hand, is confident that Diana's change of heart is inevitable: '(Ay, pobreta, que te clavas)' (1200). The cure has begun. In the ensuing confrontation between Carlos and Diana, Carlos, as Diana's chosen partner for the Carnival festivities, is required to dance attendance on her. He forgets himself so far as to pay her fulsome compliments, and Diana, thrilled at her success, prepares to enjoy her triumph to the full:

(Albricias, ingenio mío,  
que ya rendí su soberbia.  
Ahora probaré el castigo  
del desdén de mi belleza.) (1569-1572)

Carlos recovers himself in time, however, and it is Diana who receives the final insult; as he pretends that he was pretending...

Carlos: ¿...se pudo  
trocar mi naturaleza?  
¿Yo querer de veras? ¿Yo?  
¡Jesús, qué error!... (1593-1596)

Diana: ¿Qué decís? ¡Yo estoy muerta!  
¿Qué no es de veras? ¿Qué escucho?  
Pues, ¿cómo aquí...? (Hablar no acierta  
mi vanidad, de corrida!) (1603-1606)

In effect, Diana's vanity is wounded by her having fallen for Carlos' lover-like speeches. A tumult of emotion rages in her breast, and she is consumed with rage and seething indignation.

Yo he de rendir este hombre,  
o he de condenarme a necia... (1535-1536)  
Yo he de enamorar a este hombre,  
si toda el alma me cuesta... (1623-1624)  
¡Tan corrida estoy, tan ciega,  
que si supiera algún medio  
de triunfar de su soberbia,  
aunque arriesgara el respeto,  
por rendirle a mi belleza  
a costa de mi decoro  
comprara la diligencia!... (1698-1704)  
Toda mi corona diera  
por verle morir de amor. (1730-1731)

Diana is obviously consumed by a hot passion which stems from

the insulting behaviour of Carlos; 'del incendio desta afrenta/ el alma tengo abrasada' (1620-21). Her passion of indignation threatens to cloud her intellect, '¡Ya estoy ciega!' (1628), just as did the cold melancholy passion of Act I. Because her reason is clouded by passion, Diana is not aware, as are the other characters in the play, of the dangers inherent in her position: that, having once been able to experience one type of hot passion, it becomes easy to exchange it for another type. People who play with fire are apt to get burnt. Carlos, in his speech to Diana on the subject of love, classifies it as a hot passion:

amar, señora, es tener  
inflamado el corazón  
con un deseo de ver  
a quién causa esta pasión. (1305-1308)

The colour of Diana's ribbon is mother-of-pearl, and this colour is associated by the musicians with anger;

Iras significa  
el color de nácar;  
el desdén no es ira;  
quien tiene iras ama. (1517-1520)

This song tells us quite clearly that Diana's cold, disdainful anger of the first act has changed in temperature to a hot passion which is associated with love. Polilla, at the beginning of Act III, echoes this idea:

...ella está abrasada,...  
Ella te quiere, señor,  
y dice que te aborrece,  
mas lo que ira le parece,  
es quitaesencia de amor. (2074-2079)

The two hot passions of love and anger are easily confused.

The second episode of Act II is a variation on the first, and as such need not be dwelt on. Again, Diana throws out lures to Carlos,

only waiting for his capitulation to hurl her indifference in his face; and again, Carlos, helped by Polilla, resists her charms and humiliates her efforts. In one of Moreto's most amusing scenes, Diana, with Caniquí's help, lets herself be "discovered" singing in her garden: a charming lady, a beautiful setting, and an irresistible voice.<sup>25</sup> Carlos, like Ulysees tied to his mast, resists the sound with the help of Polilla's dagger, which is held to his throat, and confines his compliments to the lay-out of the shrubbery. The siren retires in high dudgeon;

un Etna es cuanto respiro.  
 ¡Yo despreciada!... (1965-1966)  
 Estoy sin juicio... (1979)  
 ¡Estoy mortal! ... (1980)

If Diana had correctly read Polilla's ironic excuse for Carlos' lack of appreciation, 'señora, es loco de atar' (1972), she would have realised the true state of events: that Carlos is mad about her, but is being forcibly restrained from showing his true emotions. She is again, however, blinded by passion:

sus desvíos (those of Carlos)  
 el sentido han de quitarme, (1959-1960)

and unaware of the trap into which she is falling, and which can be seen quite clearly by those around her:

Cintia: (Este capricho  
 la ha de despenar a amar.) (1907-1908)

25. This music, incidentally, probably affects Diana as much as it does Carlos. Music, as we know from the opening lines of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, is the food of love, and a love-song will increase the stirrings of love in the listener's heart. Rodrigo de Arévalo, in his Vergel de los príncipes, explains it thus: 'el que oye o usa de melodía musical conveniente e proporcionable a su pasión, o qualitat, o defecto, enciéndese más la tal pasión; e si oye melodía contraria ménguase o mitígase la tal pasión e vicio' (p. 334b).



Laura: Si ella no está enamorada  
de Carlos, ya va camino. (1962-1963)

The third act of the play contains the final, most bitter dose of medicine and resolves the tensions in Diana's breast to allow her to emerge with a new temperament. The plot of this act is simple; Diana's three suitors pretend to forget her, and go courting elsewhere. Their motive is to make Diana jealous, and in this they succeed so admirably that, at the end of the play, Diana is happy to accept Carlos' hand in marriage.

At the beginning of the act, while Diana's emotions are still confused, her proud disdain is delivered a fatal blow. Don Gastón and Bearne, her two erstwhile faithful followers, turn from her to court other ladies. Diana, hearing songs of love being sung all around her, is in the humiliating position of having none of them addressed to her. Her immediate reaction, to cancel all the festivities is, as Polilla points out to her, that of the dog-in-the-manger;

Polilla: Eso es ya rigor tirano,  
deja, señora, querer,  
si no quieres; que eso es ser  
el perro del hortelano. (2137-2140)

This reaction on her part stems from a different motive from that which caused her to silence Cintia's arguments at the beginning of the play. Then, she was afraid and disinclined to hear of love; now, she is touched by the music, but made jealous by the words, which are addressed to other women. She asks Polilla, 'y Carlos, ¿no me pudiera/dar música a mí también?' (2179-2180). She wishes now to be placed under the obligations she previously eschewed; 'él porfiar debía,/ que aquí es cortés la porfía' (2188-2189); and

comments wistfully, 'nadie se acuerda de mí' (2231). As yet, we are still not certain whether Diana is suffering from the pangs of love or hurt pride; but as both emotions produce the same effect of heated passion, and she is therefore now at least capable of loving, the cause is immaterial. Polilla notes her reaction with glee: 'reventando está de pena' (2166).

In one last desperate bid to beat Carlos at his own game, and little realising that he has already beaten her at here, Diana decides to make Carlos jealous by favouring the Prince of Bearne. Her words to Carlos on the subject of her proposed marriage to Bearne contain more truth than she herself perhaps yet realises, as she admits to a blind lack of understanding. She is, in fact, echoing what the other characters have been saying about her all along:

yo he reconocido  
que la opinión que yo llevo  
es ir contra la razón,  
contra el útil de mi reino... (2317-2320)  
Corrida estoy de que un yerro  
me haya tenido tan ciega,... (2350-2351)

Carlos' reaction to this news, although he later makes a brave recovery, is to suffer from the cold passion of grief: his heart contracts, holding to itself all the warmth and blood from his body, so that his face loses all its colour,

Diana:        todo el color ha perdido (2371).

Diana's satisfaction at having wounded her adversary, however, is short-lived. Carlos immediately admits his intense "love" for Cintia, and Diana receives as good as she gave: '(toda me ha cubierto un hielo)' (2420). It is by now obvious that Carlos has succeeded in his aim, and that Diana is intensely jealous: she says tartly to

Carlos,

...me ha dejado  
suspensa el veros tan ciego,  
porque yo en Cintia no he hallado  
ningunos... estremos:  
ni es agradable, ni hermosa,  
ni discreta... (2421-2426).

Diana is jealous on Carlos' behalf, and only on his behalf: 'sólo  
dél siento el desdén' (2257), but she has yet to find out that the  
reason for this is that she loves him. It is left for Polilla to  
drive this point home to the confused and infuriated lady.

When Carlos leaves her, ostensibly to beg Diana's father for  
Cintia's hand in marriage, Diana's overheated passion bursts from her  
in a torrent, while Polilla gazes with satisfaction at the results of  
his handiwork:

Diana: ¿Qué es esto, dureza mía?  
Un volcán tengo en mi pecho.  
¿Qué llama es esta que el alma  
me abrasa? Yo estoy ardiendo.  
Polilla: (Alto, ya cayó la breva...) (2507-2511)

Diana, aware that she is suffering from a blind, heated passion,  
'yo pierdo el entendimiento' (2518), '¡Caniquí, este es un incendio!' (2520); is still unaware of its source. Polilla is quick to provide the necessary explanation: '...señora, quedo,/ que eso parece querer' (2524-2525).

In order to convince her, Polilla slips again into his role of "médico de amor", by feeling her pulse, and diagnosing a fit of jealousy. This action echoes in parody the old medical tradition which holds that love can be diagnosed by noting a quickening of the pulse. It also serves to remind us that Diana's cure is being taken in hand by Polilla and is nearing completion. Diana's reaction to Polilla's

horse-play is indicative of the progress which she has made since her treatment began. The varying emotions which she has experienced, from interest in the game of bringing Carlos to heel, through pique and indignation, to violent jealousy, have served to warm her blood and inject into it greater quantities of the humour which is caused by, and which in turn causes, these hot passions: that of choler. From being 'estable en su opinión', she has become as volatile as a live volcano, and her violent reactions are typical of the choleric temperament:

¿Qué dices, loco, villano,  
atrevido, sin respeto?  
¿Celos yo? ¿Qué es lo que dices?  
¡Vete de aquí! ¡Vete luego!  
...¡Vete, atrevido,  
o haré que te arrojen luego  
de una ventana! (2545-2547). 26

Polilla flees in terror, leaving Diana alone to her reflections. These take the form of a realisation, which occurs too late, of the damage done to her system by Carlos' treatment of her and her ensuing reactions. The change in her temperament from cold to hot,

26. This violent urge to hurl people to their destruction when they speak home truths is used not only by Moreto, but also occurs in plays by Calderón, Tirso, and Alarcón, and is typical of the choleric adust temperament. Segismundo of La vida es sueño and Ninfa of Tirso's La ninfa del cielo both commit this act (see the section on the choleric criminal in chapter 7). Beltrán and Doña Inés, of Alarcón's El examen de maridos (Obras, vol II) discuss the fault of a prospective husband in this way:

Beltrán: ...es colérico adusto.  
Doña Inés: ¡Peligroso compañero!  
Beltrán: Mas dicen que aquella furia  
se le pasa en un momento,  
y queda apacible y manso.  
Doña Inés: Si con el ardor primero  
me arroja por el balcón,  
decidme, ¿de qué provecho,  
después de haber hecho el daño,  
será el arrepentimiento? (1858-1867)

of melancholy to choler, is now complete: her emotions have done their worst, and her reason can now step in and assess the damage.

¿Fuego en mi corazón? No, no lo creo.  
Siendo de mármol, ¿en mi pecho helado  
pudo encenderse? No, miente el cuidado.  
Pero, ¿cómo lo dudo, si lo veo? (2553-2556)  
Esto es amor... (2631)

Having admitted the problem to herself, Diana subjugates her passion, forcing her decoro, which has been sadly lacking throughout the course of the play, to guide her decision and her actions;

el remedio es confesarlo.  
¿Qué digo? ¿Yo publicar  
mi delito con mi labio?  
¿Yo decir que quiero bien?  
Mas Cintia viene: el recato  
de mi decoro me valga;... (2640-2645)

This belated effort on Diana's part to cover up her emotions only amuses us; Diana is the last person to come to the realization that she is in love, and so there is no-one left from whom to conceal her feelings. No matter, however: Cintia has come to ask Diana's congratulations on her imminent betrothal to Carlos, and Diana's decorous intentions are cast to the four winds as she indulges in a passionately fiery outburst, which both states her own position quite clearly, and serves to annihilate poor Cintia.

For the first time in the play, Diana admits that she was not only wrong, and unnatural, in her wish to avoid love at all costs, but was suffering from an illness: she refers to 'el delirio de mi desdén' (2781-2782). Laura echoes this sentiment, again equating desdén with an illness: the cure is complete, 'del desdén ha sanado' (2802). Polilla, likewise, congratulates his master in medical terms on the successful completion of their treatment;

¡Gran cura hemos hecho en ella! (2811)  
Haz cuenta que ya está sana, (2813).

The stage is now set for the happy dénouement of the play; Carlos, who, unknown to her, has throughout the play remained faithful to his lady, now has his love returned, and his efforts to win her affection can be rewarded by the prize of her hand in marriage. Moreto does not, however, let his play slide into an insignificant finale merely because its thesis, as illustrated in the title, has been fully expounded. Diana's cure may be complete, and her temperament changed from a cold, melancholy, unloving one to a hot, choleric one more befitting her youth, but a conflict is still raging in her breast as her passions of love and jealousy battle with each other and with the maidenly modesty which her reason demands she display:

¿Dónde me lleva el loco desvarío  
de mi pasión? Yo estoy muriendo, cielos,  
de envidias y de celos'. (2858-2860)

Her father and suitors gather round, Diana is safely stowed behind the arras, and still we are slightly unsure as to the outcome of the play. It is not until we have heard Diana's 'tú sólo', given in response to Carlos' anxious question of whom she will marry, that we can heave a sigh of relief. Diana is indeed a most temperamental lady.

In this study I have tried, while keeping intact the formal structure of the play with its conventional readings, to bring to light the deeper meanings which lie behind Moreto's imagery, techniques and characterization, and which knit together these various elements to form a meaningful, cohesive whole. Moreto was, as I shall be pointing out in the next chapter, well aware of the aspects

of medicine which I have discussed in relation to the character of Diana and which are closely interwoven with the contemporary ideology and imagery of love. Diana is neither a figura nor a piece of static and conventional characterization, but rather a living, breathing, totally exasperating female who is manoeuvred by those surrounding her into changing from a melancholy social misfit into what passes in a marriage-orientated society for a normal person.

In the two studies which I have made from No hay mal que por bien no venga and El desdén, con el desdén of the two humorous types, Don Domingo and Diana, certain similarities are to be detected. Both undergo a temperamental change, one from a surplus of phlegm, and the other from a surplus of melancholy, to an acceptable humoral balance, in which choler is slightly predominant. From being slaves to their bodies, Diana to her cold passions, and Don Domingo to his cold comfort, both characters, by the end of their respective plays, have their reason firmly in control.

The greatest difference between the two temperamental transformations is that, whereas Don Domingo's temperament alters instantaneously, and is more of a reversion to a former state than the formation of a completely new character, the change in Diana occurs very gradually, but more dramatically, since her melancholy state was partly innate and therefore very difficult to change. In spite of this difference in their speed, however, both transformations are medically sound. Hot emotions are produced as a result of a reaction to outside events, and this heat is subsequently dispersed throughout the body, in the form of increased yellow bile which counteracts the

cold of melancholy or phlegm, and produces an evenly balanced temperature. This transformation is necessary in order that the protagonists can play a correct part as befits a dama or galán of the Spanish Golden Age drama. Diana, as a heroine, must be reasonable, decorous, and loving; while Don Domingo, as a hero worthy of emulation, must be brave and honourable, with just the correct spice of choler to make him a good fighter and a devoted lover. These worthy traits can only be the product of a healthy body whose workings do not interfere with the brain and hamper its exercise of reason.

In comparing the two humorous characters and their change of temperament a comment can be made on the methods used by the two authors. Alarcón has been at pains to present, primarily, the overriding importance of honour in the lives and morals of the characters, and, secondly, a very amusing portrait of a special type. The type, or figura, is material unfit for the honourable role which is allocated to him, and he is therefore transformed, with all due speed and lack of credibility. Don Domingo is, in short, sacrificed to a theme. Moreto, on the other hand, has devoted most of his play to tracing the succession of emotions which pass through Diana's mind and which affect her behaviour. We, and the other characters of El desdén,... note each change of mood, and predict the inevitable outcome. Poor Diana is manipulated by Polilla and Carlos, and enslaved by her reacting passions of ever-increasing anger, jealousy and frustration, although, in the end, reason and loving virtue prevail. El desdén, con el desdén is a play which contains much acute psychological observation, and its heroine, with all her moods, is one of the most convincing and life-like personalities of Golden Age drama.



## CHAPTER FIVE: THE MELANCHOLY TYPE IN SPANISH LITERATURE

Melancholy is one of the most popular ailments in Golden Age literature because it is the most versatile. Melancholy, it must be remembered, was the name given not only to the diseases resulting from an excess of the melancholy humour, but also to those caused by the corruption or adustion of any one of the four humours. Virtually any serious illness could correctly, if rather vaguely, be termed melancholy; so that a writer, if he wanted to convey quickly to his reader or audience the fact that one of his characters was ill, was quite likely to use the epithet melancólico to bring that fact home. Melancholy also had the attraction, thanks to Aristotle's comments on the subject in his Problem XXX, of being the intelligent man's occupational disease, in rather the same way as today's business man measures the degree of his success by the severity of his hypertension. Melancholy belongs to nobility of birth and mind, and as such was favoured by writers as being the disease most suited to their well-born protagonists.

My concern in this chapter will be to determine what types of melancholy are found in Spanish Golden Age literature, and to discuss their causes, symptoms, and cures as they are outlined by the writers. Only the most important cases will be discussed in detail: first because of lack of space (and a disinclination to bore the reader!) and second, so that it can be seen how a fit of melancholy, when it is central to the story, affects the plot and the other characters of the play. In this chapter I shall deal with people who, although they may be unhappy, and their melancholy perhaps fatal, are not intrinsically evil. In the majority of cases the ending of the story is a happy one. A later chapter will concentrate on the

evil cases.

## I. CAUSES OF MELANCHOLY

### i. Habits and environmental factors

Many causes other than an excess of black bile are mentioned in Golden Age literature to account for a melancholy disposition or illness. It was recognised, for example, that reading and study gave rise to a melancholy temperament. Alejandro, in La quinta de Florencia attributes Carlos' sadness or melancholy to too much studying: 'causa tus estudios son/ César, de tu gran tristeza'.<sup>1</sup> Don Juan, the painter of Calderón's play El pintor de su deshonra, alleviates by his painting the melancholy which his reading habits engender, as his friend Don Luis recognises:

pues en libros suspendido  
gastabais noches y días;  
y sí, para entretener  
tal vez fatigas del leer,  
con vuestras melancolías  
treguas tratábades  
lo prolijo del pincel  
su alivio...<sup>2</sup>

A secondary cause for melancholy is to be found in the environment. The phases of the moon, and varying weather conditions can influence the humoral balance. In Lope's play Los locos de Valencia Valerio comically excuses himself from having to lock his mad friend in a cage on the grounds that this is not one of Floriano's violent days:

no estando agora furioso

1. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 143a, Act I.

2. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Obras completas, edited by Luis Astraña Marín, Aguilar, 3 vols, third edition, revised (Madrid 1945-60), vol I, p. 544a, Act I.

como es la luna en contrario  
no ha sido muy necesario;  
si lo está, será forzoso.  
Y cuanto alegre le veis,  
si le da melancolía,  
se nos morirá en un día. <sup>3</sup>

Bad weather also gives rise to melancholy. Autumn is supposed to be the time of year when black bile rules the body, but according to this extract from Tirso's play El amor médico, it would seem that hot, close weather could also be responsible for an attack of melancholy:

Don Iñigo:           Paréceme, Estefanía  
                          que estás triste.  
Doña Estefanía:           Causarálo  
                          señor, el tiempo, que es malo,  
                          y engendra melancolía.  
                          Dicen que la peste asombra  
                          todo este vecino. <sup>4</sup>

The putrid air of the town could produce an epidemic of melancholy, just as it could spread the plague. Doña Estefanía's anxious father urges her to go into the country for a while.

The popular topos of menosprecio de corte finds its reflection in contemporary views on the causes of melancholy. César, the aforementioned secretary of La quinta de Florencia has an ulterior motive in his desire to leave the tedium of court life for the simple pleasures of the country:

Alejandro: Yo pensé que te alegrara  
                  la casa que fabricaste  
                  junto a Florencia...  
César:       ...si no fuera  
                  por ella, me hubiera muerto;  
                  tanto me alegra el desierto,  
                  tanto la corte me altera. <sup>5</sup>

3. BAE, Obras, vol I, p. 117a, Act I.

4. Obras, vol II, p. 987a, Act II.

5. Lope, BAE, Obras, vol 33, p.143a, Act I.

Others, however, genuinely feel that country life alleviates the melancholy which court life has engendered: the bucolic existence is, according to one,

venciendo melancolías  
que los tráfaos... den  
de la corte.<sup>6</sup>

While country life, with its pure air, sweet sounds, and beauty may offer solace to the melancholy mind, solitude is not to be sought, as it is one of the causes of melancholy. Calderón's "monster" Queen Semíramis, an extreme type, provides an extreme example. Silence and loneliness quickly become unbearable for her after she had voluntarily locked herself away:

Esta quietud me ofende,  
matarme esta soledad pretende,  
angústiame esta sombra,  
esta calma me asusta,  
esta paz me disgusta,  
este pavor me asombra,  
y este silencio, en fin, tanto me oprime,  
que a un fatal precipicio me comprime.<sup>7</sup>

It was understood, however, that solitude would have the effect of causing melancholy in quite normal people. A man who is hiding in his friend's house is asked by that friend, '¿No os causa melancolía/ pasar tanta soledad?'<sup>8</sup>. The sad Rosimunda in Calderón's play El Conde Lucanor is urged by her companion not to remain by herself:

Estela: No quieras  
dar a tus melancolías  
con la soledad más fuerza.  
Rosimunda: Aun por eso la deseo,  
porque sé que es la tristeza

6. Tirso de Molina, La ninfa del cielo, Obras, vol I, p. 935, Act I.
7. La hija del aire, II, Obras, vol II, p. 676b, Act II.
8. Calderón, El astrólogo fingido, Obras, vol II, p. 150b, Act II.

monstruo que en las soledades  
de sí sola se alimenta.<sup>9</sup>

Certain types of food, especially poisonous food, were held to be responsible for fits of melancholy madness. When, in Tirso's play Cómo han de ser los amigos Don Manrique goes out of his mind, his servant attributes this sudden onset of madness to his master's diet:

'¿Qué has comido? ¿Si los berros/ de anoche te hicieron mal?'<sup>10</sup>

The immediate cause of the melancholic Licenciado Vidriera's madness was poisoned food: he ate a quince which had been doctored with a love-philtre, and this made him first extremely ill, and subsequently mad:

Comió en tal mal punto Tomás el membrillo, que al momento comenzó a herir de pie y de mano como si tuviera alferecía, y sin volver en sí estuvo muchas horas, al cabo de las cuales volvió como atontado, y dijo con lengua turbada y tartamuda que un membrillo que había comido le había muerto... Seis meses estuvo en la cama Tomás, en los cuales se secó y se puso, como suele decirse, en los huesos, y mostraba tener turbados todos los sentidos; y aunque le hicieron los remedios posibles, sólo le sanaron la enfermedad del cuerpo, pero no lo del entendimiento.<sup>11</sup>

Eating nothing, or at any rate not enough, was also held to be a cause of melancholy. This was because the body was deprived of the heat and moisture which food normally provided, and it would waste away, dry up, and grow colder. The colour of the skin would take on a brown or yellow hue which was indicative of a preponderance of bile. A half-starved servant complains to his master that 'de hambre estamos/ amarillos como cera'.<sup>12</sup>

9. Obras, vol I, p. 450a, Act II.

10. Obras, vol I, p. 307a, Act III.

11. Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, edited by Francisco Rodríguez Marín, Clásicos Castellanos, 2 vols (Madrid 1961), vol II, pp. 35-36.

12. Moreto, Trampa adelante, Comedias escogidas, p. 145b, Act I.

Conversely, eating well has a warming effect and can make for good health in both mind and body. According to one report, the rich have an advantage over the poor as much because of the type of food they eat as because of their superior education:

Marín: ¿En qué topa el ser tan sabio?  
Lisardo: En los ayos y maestros,  
          si bien dicen que lo causan  
          los sutiles alimentos.  
Marín: ¿Luego pollas y perdices  
          hacen los claros ingenios?  
          ¡Ay de los pobres, á estar  
          a la cocina sujetos! 13

Hunger could not only affect the body, but also the mind. It was known to be a cause of melancholy madness. When Carlos, the Licenciado Vidriera of Moreto's play of that name, starts feigning madness, his servant is in no doubt as to the cause of and the cure for his illness:

Gerundio: El ha perdido el juicio. -  
          Qué comer traeré, no temas.  
          ...está loco;  
          esto causa la flaqueza. 14

The fact that Carlos' madness is only feigned does not invalidate his unsuspecting servant's diagnosis.

## ii. Illness

It was recognised that melancholy could be an innate disease;

Aurora: hay males que son  
          la misma naturaleza.  
Nisea: Así es la melancolía 15;

and that it was hereditary,

13. Lope de Vega, La llave de la honra, BAE, Obras, vol 2, p. 122b, Act I.

14. Comedias escogidas, p. 262b, Act II.

15. Moreto, El defensor de su agravio, Comedias escogidas, p. 494c, Act I.

Clavela: ...¡heredó el frenesí  
del padre que le engendró! 16

Humours, in effect, were rather like blood groups are today:

Don Pedro: ...como somos los dos  
una sangre, así tendremos  
un humor... 17

An excess of black bile can also be produced through illness. The quartan fever is especially renowned for the way in which it is caused by, and causes in its turn a predominance of black bile. In Lope's Lo que hay que fiar del mundo the beautiful christian heroine, Blanca, takes the Turkish harem women soundly to task for keeping their quarters so stuffy and thereby laying themselves open to the dangers of fever. Her remedy against the inevitable onslaught of melancholy is bleeding:

Blanca: No tenéis una ventana,  
sangráis de ocho a ocho días  
para las melancolías  
desta enfadosa cuartana. 18

In some cases, the graciosos seem to be exceptionally well-versed in the causes of melancholy, using their knowledge to gain their own ends. One such case occurs in Moreto's play El parecido en la corte, when an old man mistakes the impoverished Don Fernando of Seville for his own long-lost indiano son. Tacón, Don Fernando's servant, turns this confusion to good account by convincing the old man that Don Fernando is the long-lost son; and he gets over the

16. Lope de Vega, El halcón de Federico, BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 249b, Act III.

17. Lope de Vega, La inocente sangre, BAE, Obras, vol 4, p. 367c, Act III.

18. Lope de Vega, Lo que hay que fiar del mundo, RAE, Obras, vol 7, p. 272a, Act II. Also see chapter Six of this study, p.233, note 51.

inevitable difficulties by pretending that Don Fernando has lost his memory;

A él le dió una perlesía  
y della resultó luego  
un mal, que manía se llama,  
de quien refiere Galeno  
que quita la voluntad,  
memoria y entendimiento 19

and takes care to ensure for his bemused master not only a good home, but also excellent care:

El más eficaz remedio  
es darle a comer muy bien  
y mucho porque el cerebro  
con vapores regalados  
se le vaya humedeciendo (p. 314c, Act I).

### iii. The Passions

Looking back from a Romantic or modern viewpoint, where melancholy is more of a temporary state of mind, synonymous with sadness, the most obvious cause of melancholy would seem to be sadness. However, a distinction was usually made in the Golden Age between sadness, or melancolía, which stems from the bad humour, and tristeza, which is caused by an unhappy event, as these examples show:

Duquesa: Tristeza sin ocasión,  
llámela vueseñoría  
natural melancolía. 20

Rut: lo que padezco ignoro  
sin saber de qué lloro,  
sino un mal humor los gustos desazona. 21

19. Comedias escogidas, p. 314c, Act I. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

20. Tirso de Molina, La ninfa del cielo, in Obras, vol I, p. 941a, Act II.

21. Tirso de Molina, La mejor espiigadera, in Obras, vol I, p. 989b, Act I.



Both Lope and Calderón are especially careful to differentiate between sadness and melancholy. For example, in Lope's play La boda entre dos maridos, two men discuss the young Febo's illness in the following terms:

Lisardo: ¿Qué tiene?  
Aurelio: Melancolía.  
Lisardo: ¿Melancolía de que?  
Aurelio: A saberse la ocasión,  
fuera, Lisardo, tristeza,  
y luego se remediara  
que se entendiera el secreto,  
porque cesara el efeto  
como la causa cesara.  
Mas siendo melancolía,  
de sólo el humor procede,  
y remediarse no puede  
mientras el humor porfia. 22

The sad Infanta, Fénix, of Calderón's religious play El príncipe constante, when asked what is the matter with her, makes this same distinction between causeless melancholy and caused sadness:

Fénix: ...Si yo supiera  
íay, Celima! lo que siento,  
de mi mismo sentimiento  
lisonja al dolor hiciera;  
pero de la pena mía  
no sé la naturaleza,  
que entonces fuera tristeza,  
lo que hoy es melancolía. 23

Although melancholy and sadness are not synonymous in Golden Age Spanish literature, it was recognised that prolonged unhappiness could lead from a mood of sadness to a melancholic disposition. The miserable Alejandro, lost without his beloved, realises the importance

22. BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 414a-b, Act II. Also see Lope, La quinta de Florencia, BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 142b-143a, Act I.

23. Calderón, El príncipe constante, Obras, vol I, p. 896a, Act I. Also see Calderón, No hay cosa como callar, Obras, vol I, p. 330b, Act II; and Calderón, Casa con dos puertas mala es de guardar, Obras, vol II, p. 283a-b, Act I.

of trying to cheer himself up:

Vamos, que quiero alegrarme;  
que si dura esta tristeza  
vendrá a ser naturaleza  
y peligrosa a matarme. 24

A heart which was constantly experiencing the cold, dry passion of sadness would be calling on large quantities of black bile to help it in its task, until the manufacture of extra black bile would become automatic, endangering the health and causing a permanent feeling of flat despair. A misfortune would produce feelings of grief and unhappiness which would work on the body in this way, causing ill-health and depression or, in extreme cases, insanity and death. Don Álvaro de Luna's ill-fortune brings about such a change in his appearance and character that his wife exclaims,

Don Álvaro, mi señor,  
dícenme que habeis venido  
melancólico. ¿Qué ha sido?  
¡Vos triste, vos sin color!  
...¡Ea! señor: ¿adónde está  
del ánimo la grandeza,  
del valor la fortaleza? 25

Don Álvaro, from being a paragon of strength and courage, is all of a sudden displaying the pallor, sadness and timidity typical of the melancholic type. Death from an overwhelming constriction of the heart due to sorrow, is the cause of the deaths of the two lovers in Los amantes de Teruel. César, the young boy of Lope's play El halcón de Federico, dies much more slowly of a wasting melancholy which causes him to take to his bed and pine slowly away.

24. Lope, La serrana de Tormes, RAE, Obras, vol 9, p. 455a, Act II.

25. Tirso de Molina, Adversa fortuna de Don Álvaro de Luna, Obras, vol I, p. 2032a, Act III.

Prolonged grief, heredity, changes in the environment or of habit, and excessive studying, are thus a few of the causes of melancholy which I have found in Spanish Golden Age Literature. Although I have dealt with each cause separately, it has been more for the sake of clarity on my part than due to a rigid segregation on the part of the author. In many cases, especially the most important ones, the melancholic ailment or disposition has arisen as a result of several factors. Thus the licenciate of Cervantes' novela ejemplar, although he becomes insane as a result of being poisoned, would already be susceptible to attacks of melancholy by reason of his great intelligence; for 'en ocho años... se hizo tan famoso en la Universidad por su buen ingenio y notable habilidad, que de todo género de gentes era estimado y querido'.<sup>26</sup> Solitude and sadness would go hand-in-hand to exacerbate a feeling of melancholy: Calderón's sad heroines are always desiring to be left alone with their misery.

By far the greatest difficulty confronting the anxious friends and relations of these sufferers, however, stems from the habit which some of the heroes and heroines have of disguising the truth. Due to a sense of honour, these characters conceal the cause of their distress and deliberately set out to mislead. Their well-wishers, anxious to help, often draw totally wrong conclusions, and consequently suggest equally wrong methods of cure. This is especially true in the drama, where a state of confusion makes for exciting theatre; and many of the examples which I have given so far in this chapter do not in actual fact state the cause for melancholy, but only what is thought

26. Cervantes, El licenciado Vidriera, Novelas ejemplares, vol II, p.11.

to be the cause. Many protagonists whose sadness has an excellent emotional cause will leap at any excuse, such as bad blood, bad weather, or court life, which is proffered; merely to divert suspicion from the true nature of their state of mind. What great emotion can cause such sadness, and in many cases illnesses, or insanity? When consolation is offered and confiding is urged, what can make people die rather than speak out? The answer is Love.

## II. LOVE MELANCHOLY

The hot, moist passion of love is a sanguine one, a happy one, and has nothing to do with sadness and cold, dry melancholy. A story with a "happy ending" in Spanish Golden Age literature is one which ends in the giving to the hero of the heroine's hand in marriage; a symbol of love. However, there are many trials which lovers have to undergo before their goal is reached, if it is reached; and a love which is frustrated in any way gives rise to melancholy.<sup>27</sup> Lovers by tradition are pale, sickly creatures. Ovid, the great expert on this subject, advised anyone who wished to further his suit to look so. The idea, it seems, was to win pity from the lady you loved, hoping that the one warm emotion would soon be replaced by another hot passion: love.

But let every lover be pale; this is the lover's hue. Such looks become him; from such a countenance let them imagine you to be sick. Pale did Orion wander in Dirce's glades, pale was Daphnis when the naiad proved unkind. Let leanness also prove your feelings; nor dream it base to set a hood on your bright locks. Nights of vigil make thin the bodies of lovers, and anxiety and the distress that a great passion brings. That you

27. For an excellent exposition of this subject, and its application to English literature, see Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, chapters 6 & 7.

may gain your desire be pitiable, so that whoso sees you may say, "You are in love".<sup>28</sup>

Ovid's advice to lovers to look pale, miserable, thin and ill argues calculated cunning: it is a trap with which to capture the lady's heart. Other famous lovers, however, could not help themselves. The situation was out of their hands, and their misery made them ill. No doubt in some cases they exaggerated their symptoms for the same reason as Ovid advocated them, to win the lady's sympathy; but there was an element of genuine suffering involved. Such was the courtly lover, like Chaucer's Troilus; who, because he had sneered at the power of love, was ashamed, when he fell in love with Creseida, to tell anyone of his downfall. He became very ill:

And from this forth then reft him love his sleep,  
And made his meat his foe; and eke his sorrow  
'Gan multiply, that who so tooké keep,  
It showed in his hue both even and morrow.  
Therefore a tittle he 'gan to borrow,  
Of other sickness, lest man of him ween'd  
That the hot fire of cruel love him brend.<sup>29</sup>

If for any reason the lover felt the necessity to hide his passion, a 'tittle... of other sickness' lay ready to hand, in the form of melancholy. The two ailments were readily confused, because they were one and the same thing: the difference lay in the cause. Bad blood and frustrated love both made for a thin, pale person, who was sad, unable to sleep or eat, occasionally frenzied, or mad, and prone to die if his sickness was not cured. Even the great Galen was unable, merely by examining the patient, to tell the difference. In

28. Ovid, The Art of Love, and other Poems, translated by H.J. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (London 1929), Book I, l. 729-38, p. 63.

29. Troilus and Creseida, in The Riches of Chaucer, edited by Charles Cowden Clarke (London 1896), p. 339.

his treatise On Prognosis the celebrated doctor records:

I was called in to see a woman who was stated to be sleepless at night and to lie tossing about from one position into another. Finding she had no fever, I made a detailed enquiry into everything that had happened to her, especially considering such factors as we know to cause insomnia. But she either answered little or nothing at all, as if to show that it was useless to question her. Finally, she turned away, hiding herself completely by throwing the bedclothes over her whole body, and laying her head on another small pillow, as if desiring sleep.

After leaving I came to the conclusion that she was suffering from one of two things: either from a melancholy dependant on black bile, or else trouble about something she was unwilling to confess.<sup>30</sup>

It transpires that this patient is love-sick. Another story of this type which was handed down from antiquity had repercussions in Golden Age literature; many works contain elements from it, and Moreto modelled an entire play on it. The story of Antiochus' love for his step-mother Stratonice and of his father's generosity in giving up both his wife and his crown to his son, is famous.<sup>31</sup> The story contains details of Antiochus' illness, tells of his unwillingness to divulge its cause, and dwells on the skill of the doctor, Erasistratus, who managed to find out what was wrong by means of observing the changing expressions on Antiochus' face when confronted by the lady he loved.

We have, then, from tales of antiquity, a general picture of the frustrated lover, together with the information, found in medical

30. In A.J. Brock, Greek Medicine, being extracts illustrative of medical writers from Hippocrates to Galen (London and Toronto 1929), p. 213.

31. See Ruth Lee Kennedy, 'The Theme of Stratonice in the Drama of the Spanish Peninsula', PMLA, 55 (1940), pp. 1010-1032; and Frank P. Casa, The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Moreto, Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, vol 29 (Cambridge, Mass. 1966), ch. III, for examinations of the story and its sources.

treatises and handed down to literature, that his sickness is like that caused by black bile. Given a little time, of course, love-sickness does become a true melancholy illness. When love is thwarted, the lover experiences melancholy passions of sadness and fear, and these, combined with lack of food and sleep, cause a cooling and drying of his body. Unused sperm putrefy in his body and also make him ill.

Another feature of love-sickness as the ancient writers described it found great popularity in Spanish Golden Age drama, as I have already mentioned. An unwillingness to divulge the cause of sadness seemed, from Galen's account of the love-sick woman, to be an integral feature of love-sickness. In literature of the Golden Age, other factors are involved, and the lover's silence becomes tied up with the question of honour. Galen's patient had an innate unwillingness to tell of her love; Troilus kept quiet about his love so as not to look a fool; but several of Calderón's heroines held their tongues in public because their honour was at stake. Thus the same symptoms, from rather different causes.

These symptoms, while they could be confused with those stemming from a natural excess of black bile or from causes other than that of frustrated love, could not be concealed altogether. As, moreover, these symptoms were usually caused by study or, if the illness were really severe, by love, the people who became really ill usually had their secret wormed out of them. Valerio, in Los locos de Valencia, lends conviction to his account of his friend's loss of reason by attributing it to an excess of study and love:

Pisano: ¿qué era su profesión?

Valerio: Filosofía estudiaba.  
 Pisano: La flecha ¿fue desahajaba?  
 Valerio: Y de un poco de afición.  
 Pisano: ¿Eso anduvo por ahí?  
 De suerte que el daño ha sido  
 entre Platón y Cupido.  
 Valerio: Cada cual puede por sí;  
 que el estudio y el amor<sup>32</sup>  
 suelen quitar el juicio.

Love, however, is generally thought to have the edge on study when it comes to causing attacks of melancholy. In Lope's play La quinta de Florencia César pretends that his melancholy stems from a disorder of the blood. The Duke is satisfied by this explanation, feeling that an excess of studying has produced a preponderance of black bile. César's friends, however, are not so easily convinced:

Carlos: ...Pensaba Octavio  
 que César amor tenía,  
 porque no hay melancolía<sup>33</sup>  
 de más rigor de su agravio.

The many works of Golden Age Spanish literature which deal with this subject of love melancholy may be categorised under different headings, according to the severity of the attack, or the different treatment given to the subject by the various authors. In examining some examples of love melancholy under these headings, I realise that this survey is by no means exhaustive. It may, however, while avoiding too much repetition, serve to provide an adequate overall view

32. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 1, p. 117a, Act II. Compare with Gristóstomo, in Don Quijote: a man who was 'muy sabio y muy leído', and who was buried with books around his body. Gristóstomo's love for Marcela was disdained, and he died as a result. His death may have been suicide, but he could equally well have died naturally from melancholy resulting from frustrated love, because his intelligence and studious nature predisposed him to melancholy (Don Quijote, I, ch. xii-xiv).

33. BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 143a, Act I.



of the subject.

i. Symptoms of love melancholy

The first symptoms which the victim of love melancholy will evince are both physical and mental. He is suffering from an anguish of the spirit which is manifested in expressions of great sadness, sighs and tears. At the same time, the cold black bile which is released by this sad passion works on the body, cooling down the system and preventing it from functioning properly. As the blood is cooled down and drawn away from the extremities towards the constricted heart, the skin, deprived of its heat-source, becomes very pale. Tirso, in his description of the melancholy Ruth in La mejor espigadera, combines these two symptoms, one physical, the other mental, in his reference to the unhappy woman's 'pálida tristeza'.<sup>34</sup> In order to emphasise that the pallor stems not so much from a transient sorrow, but from a melancholy disorder born of the continuous experiencing of the sad passions and a subsequent physical malfunction, the skin colour is often described as being yellow, or bilious, rather than merely pale. When Don Íñigo, his marriage sadly having fallen through, rejoins his servant, the latter is immediately made aware that something is wrong by the pallor of his master's countenance and its sad expression:

Motil: ¿Esa es, señor, tu alegría?  
Con cara de hipocondría  
a recibirme has salido.  
Cuando vengo de Sevilla  
a verte recién casado,

34. Obras, vol I, p. 989b, Act I.

¿Te hallo tan desazonado?  
¿Has dado librea amarilla?  
Que tu semblante la copia.<sup>35</sup>  
¿Triste ya, casado ayer?

Motil has correctly presumed that melancholy and a happy, consummated marriage are incompatible, and is therefore extremely surprised by his master's demeanour.

Since this study cannot be anything but selective, suffice it for me to point out that many pallid lovers are to be found in the pages of pastoral literature; for example, in Cervantes' La Galatea. Silerio, falling in love with the same woman as his best friend, finds that 'estos sobresaltos y combates me apretaban de manera que, sin procurar la salud ajena, comencé a dudar de la propia, y a ponerme tan flaco y amarillo que causaba general compasión a todos los que me miraban'.<sup>36</sup>

The initial stirrings of love, combined with the knowledge that a happy outcome of the affair is not possible, makes for a mixture of the hot and cold passions; the burning passion of love gradually being quenched by the cold, melancholy passion of despair. Doña Blanca, of Tirso's play Quien habló, pagó, has fallen in love with a stranger whom she never expects to see again:

Triste, Estela amiga, estoy.  
En nada alcanzo sosiego:  
todo me aflige y congoja;  
lo que me alivia, me enoja;  
ya soy de hielo, y ya fuego.<sup>37</sup>

35. Moreto, Yo por vos, y vos por otro, Comedias escogidas, p. 373a, Act I.

36. Edited by Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, 2 vols, Clásicos Castellanos (Madrid 1961), vol I, Book II, p. 146.

37. Obras, vol I, p. 1481b, Act II.

The Duke in Moreto's play El defensor de su agravio is similarly suffering from the early stages of a hopeless passion. A married man, he is 'afligido... de tristes melancolías'; in love with a young lady, not his wife. His sadness is combined with the hot passion of desire, for he has an 'ardiente corazón'.<sup>38</sup>

Linda, of Tirso's La romera de Santiago, on being parted from her betrothed, suffers not only from sadness, but from the fear and suspicion typical of the true melancholy type:

con el conde a Inglaterra  
se fueron mis alegrías.  
Como no has llegado a amar,  
no has sabido qué es tener  
tristeza, llorar, temer,  
esperar, desconfiar.<sup>39</sup>

As the Count loses no time in falling violently in love with another woman, and speedily depriving her of her honour, the extreme nature of Linda's melancholy can be interpreted as premonition.

Sometimes, the mere prospect of separation from the one you love can be enough to bring about an attack of melancholy. Leandro's melancholy at the thought of leaving Blanca, in Lope's play Lo que hay que fiar del mundo, provides one of the most moving and vivid descriptions of melancholy in its early stages which I have found:

Elanca: Mejor viviera sin ti,  
que contigo deste modo;  
porque no tenerte todo  
es grande mal para mí.  
Si comes, das mil suspiros  
mirándome, y tales son,  
que se rinde el corazón  
a la fuerza de sus tiros.

38. Comedias escogidas, p. 491c, Act I.

39. Obras, vol II, p. 1256b, Act II.

Si te acuestas, das mil vueltas,  
y el paso a mi pecho atajas,  
que pienso que te amortajas  
en las sábanas revueltas.  
Tal vez despierto, y te veo  
llorando sobre mi cara  
agua, en que yo me lavara  
a lloverla tu deseo...  
Si estás hablando conmigo,  
en medio de las razones  
todo amarillo te pones...  
¡Ay, Dios, qué extraño castigo! 40

Leandro is persuaded to divulge the reason for his melancholy, and when Blanca determines to go into captivity with her husband, his melancholy is instantly dispelled.

Other symptoms of melancholy are those of silence, and lowered eyes. These symptoms, easy as they are to portray, would be especially useful in the theatre and would enable an audience instantly to identify a melancholy type. For example Lawrence Babb describes the typical melancholy type of the Elizabethan theatre as having 'clothing disordered, hat pulled over the eyes, and arms folded'.<sup>41</sup> His Spanish counterpart is not described in these terms, but, from what we can tell of him through the comments of his companions, he does have a tendency to look downwards at his feet, cutting himself off from communication in the same way. The love-sick César, in La quinta de Florencia, neither speaks nor raises his head until, for dramatic purposes, his image as a melancholic type having been firmly established, he has to explain events:

Alejandro: César palabra no ha hablado...  
y agora que oyó cantar

40. RAE, Obras, vol 7, p. 263b, Act II.

41. Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p. 157.

no alzó la vista ofendida.<sup>42</sup>

Later on in the scene, the Prince and two of his courtiers discuss César's case just as if he wasn't there, determined to get his secret out of him. Although there are no stage directions here, it is easy to imagine César standing moodily on the other side of the stage: silent, arms crossed, and solitary.

Silence and lowered eyes are a sign of melancholia in Spanish literature in just the same way as crossed arms are, according to Babb, in English literature. When Don Juan, in Alarcón's play Las paredes oyen, tries to conceal his identity by being as unobtrusive as he can, his behaviour is misconstrued by the maid:

Celia: Y vos, ¿sois mudo, cochero?  
¿De qué estás triste? Volved;  
alza el rostro...<sup>43</sup>

The melancholic lover, in his desire to cut himself off from his surroundings, is not only silent and with downcast eyes, but wishful of being left alone with his misery. This desire for solitude, coupled as it is with sadness, makes melancholy a serious malady:

La mayor enfermedad  
llaman la melancolía,  
porque no admite alegría  
y anda a buscar soledad.<sup>44</sup>

42. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 142b, Act I. Similarly, the love-sick Mireno of La Galatea receives the news of his loved one's betrothal to another 'con los ojos fijos en el suelo, y tan sin hacer movimiento alguno, que una estatua semejava' (vol 2, p. 190).

43. Edited by C. Bourland (New York 1914), p. 111, Act III.

44. Lope de Vega, El bobo del colegio, BAE, Obras, vol 1, p. 189c, Act II. The love-sick Albanio, of Garcilaso's Second Eclogue, will only tell about his unrequited love if his confidant promises to leave him to his tears and solitude: 'que en oyendo el fin luego te vayas/ y me dejes llorar mi desventura/ entre estos pinos solo y estas hayas' (Garcilaso de la Vega, Eglogas, edited by Antonio Gallego Morell, Madrid 1972, p. 74).

Those who seek solace from their frustrated love in solitude, however, will not find it. Solitude engenders melancholy, and it also, according to Aurora, the countess of Barcelona, of Calderón's Lances de amor y fortuna, engenders love, which can again be turned to melancholy:

... un día, que lugar daba  
a necias melancolías,  
sola por las galerías  
del jardín me paseaba...  
Dispuesta la voluntad  
a amar entonces vivía;  
que amor es filosofía  
hallada en la soledad. 45

The love which is engendered in Aurora's melancholy spirit is not one with much hope of fulfillment: she falls in love with a portrait.

In marked contrast with the idea of the silent melancholic, and only in privacy and solitude, the frustrated lover can at times voice his or her sorrow. Talking to oneself, then as now, was considered to be a sign of madness, but it could also be a symptom of jealousy. When Rosimunda, heroine of Calderón's play El conde Lucanor, is caught muttering to herself in a jealous rage, Lucanor, who has found her in this state, exclaims at her: '¡Vos en voces altas,/ sola y colérica!' and later wonders to himself, '¡Qué melancolía tan rara/ trae consigo!' 46 The hot and cold passion of jealousy, as Burton explains, is a form of frustrated love, a 'bastard-branch, or kind of Love-Melancholy', which therefore causes the same symptoms as those of love melancholy. 47 When a husband has cause to think that his wife has

45. Obras, vol II, p. 172a-b, Act I.

46. Obras, vol I, p. 450a, Act I.

47. The Anatomy of Melancholy, vol 3, p. 295.

been unfaithful to him, as has Don Sancho, of Tirso's drama El celoso prudente, he becomes melancholy, and takes to talking to himself; his wife describes how

melancólico anda...  
pensativas suspensiones  
hacen mi dicha tirana;  
elévase en las razones;  
no come de buena gana;  
mal esta noche ha dormido;  
oígole hablar entre sí,... 48

In spite of these symptoms, however, Don Sancho retains his good sense; and his patience and wisdom, quite uncharacteristic of the usual jealous man, are amply rewarded when he is reassured of his wife's innocence.

This description of El celoso prudente's symptoms also mentions one of the most common features of the illness of love melancholy; which is the stricken lover's inability to eat or sleep. When César, in La quinta de Florencia, is persuaded to talk about his malady to his friends, they are quick to interpret the symptoms:

César: Otavio, yo estoy enfermo.  
Otavio: ¿De qué mal?  
César: No sé qué mal;  
basta saber que él es tal,  
que ya no como ni duermo...  
Otavio: Mal dormir, y peor comer,  
suele proceder de amor;  
estarás enamorado,  
que esto nace de su impulso. 49

César later complains of sadness and trembling:

¡O efeto de mi pasión,  
ansias débiles y tiranas,  
temblando me están las piernas

48. Obras, vol I, p. 1264b, Act III.

49. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 144b, Act I. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

del paso del corazón. (p. 162a-b, Act I)

This trembling, which is also typical of the melancholy lover, is no doubt partly due to the experiencing of a strong, sad passion, and partly due to physical weakness which is a result of neglect. ,

The gracioso Tello, of Alarcón's play Siempre ayuda la verdad, derides the lover's sickness, inability to eat, and fatiguing nocturnal habits, when he reports to his master a conversation which he had with his master's lady:

...la dije que estabas  
de rondalla seis o siete  
noches, con un notable  
y peligroso accidente:  
que no podías comer  
ni dormir ni estar alegre;  
que te dabas parasismos, 50  
y que remedio te diese.

Another potential casualty of the disease of lover's melancholy is to be found in the second part of the Don Quijote. On the eve of the rich Camacho's marriage to the young and beautiful Quiteria Don Quijote and Sancho are told of the sad decline in the health of Quiteria's childhood sweetheart, Basilio. Before Quiteria's betrothal to Camacho, Basilio gave no indication of a melancholic temperament: he was an even-tempered, gifted young man;

pues si va a decir las verdades sin invidia, él es el más ágil mancebo que conocemos, gran tirador de barra, luchador estreado y gran jugador de pelota; corre como un gamo, salta más que una cabra y birla a los bolos como por encantamento; canta como una calandria, y toca una guitarra, que la hace hablar, y, sobre todo, juega una espada con el más pintado. 51

When his hopes of marriage to Quiteria are dashed, the change which

50. Obras, vol III, p. 263, Act I.

51. Cervantes, Don Quijote, p. 672, Book II, ch xix.



comes over him is astounding:

desde el punto que Basilio supo que la hermosa Quiteria se casaba con Camacho el rico, nunca más le han visto reír ni hablar razón concertada, y siempre anda pensativo y triste, hablando entre sí mismo, con que da ciertas y claras señales de que se le ha vuelto el juicio: come poco y duerme poco, y lo que come son frutas, y en lo que duerme, si duerme, es en el campo, sobre la dura tierra, como animal bruto; mira de cuando en cuando al cielo, y otras veces clava los ojos en la tierra, con tal embesamamiento, que no parece sino estatua vestida que el aire le mueve la ropa. En fin, él da tales muestras de tener apasionado el corazón, que tenemos todos los que le conocemos que el dar el sí mañana la hermosa Quiteria ha de ser la sentencia de su muerte. (pp. 673-4)

In his thoughtful sadness, mumblings, and lack of consideration for his own health and well-being, Basilio shows himself to be a typical melancholy lover. He manages, however, to overcome his illness, loss of reason, and incipient death by wresting Quiteria from Camacho's side at the critical moment, and marrying her by means of a ruse. Once the cause of his melancholy is removed, his cure is rapid and total. His behaviour is, in fact, very uncharacteristic of the usual melancholy lover's indecision. It is symptomatic of the people who are suffering from love melancholy to be indecisive and pleased by nothing: this is part and parcel of the overwhelming sadness and despair which they feel on realising the futility of their love. The Duke in Moreto's play El defensor de su agravio, while complaining of his hopeless love for Nisea, is unsure of how he can be comforted: he tells his musicians, 'dejadme. -Pero, ¿qué digo?/ ¡Sin mí estoy! - Volved, cantad.'<sup>52</sup> The love-sick Doña Blanca, of Tirso's play Quien habló, pagó, cries and sighs her melancholy, and is quite unsure of how to seek relief from the torturing melancholy.

52. Comedias escogidas, p. 492a, Act I.

Her companion suggests that something must be done;

Estela: ¡Extraña melancolía!  
Pues procure vuestra Alteza  
divertir esa tristeza.<sup>53</sup>

and Doña Blanca makes an effort, which fails miserably, to divert her thoughts:

Doña Blanca: ...Déjame sola; mas no,  
no te vayas...  
Lleva ese libro, y di a Fabio  
que cante un rato. Allá fuera  
en la antecámara, espera...;  
no... vaya; todo es agravio;  
todo me cansa, ¡ay de mí! (p. 1482a-b, Act II)

Sometimes, this overwhelming sadness finds its outlet by the unhappy person wishing that he or she were dead. The Duke of El defensor de su agravio recovers from his love for Nisea only by suspecting that his wife has been unfaithful to him, and this suspicion makes him so despairingly unhappy that he sees death as a welcome release:

A nadie he de recibir:  
sólo conmigo he de estar  
hasta que venza el pesar  
y me acabe de rendir.<sup>54</sup>

Fortunately for the two people who have been falsely accused of adultery, however, the Duke is not so spiritless; and on checking on the facts carefully by dint of listening in to a private conversation, he is able to release his innocent wife from her death sentence, and thus restore his own happiness.

This section, so far, has described the love melancholy symptoms of people like the Duke, and Basilio, who are able, with a little

53. Obras, vol I, p. 1481c-1482a, Act II. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

54. Moreto, Comedias escogidas, p. 505b, Act III.



When Antíoco recognises Stratonice, his future stepmother, as being the lady in his precious portrait, he immediately takes a turn for the worse. For his father's sake, and also presumably because of the lover's natural reticence, he must keep his love a secret; and any hopes he has had of being able to marry the woman he loves are dashed. He arrives home in a physically weakened condition:

Luquete: ...viene aquí  
de su mal tan afligido  
que ponerse no ha podido  
nunca a caballo, (p.43c, Act I)

and takes to his bed. His distress grows, and he becomes progressively weaker; 'viene apoyado en un criado' (p. 45c, Act II), fretful, complaining 'no cantéis; todo me aflige' (p. 45c, Act II); and, in Stratonice's presence, gripped by the cold, melancholy humour:

todo me ha cubierto un hielo (p. 46, Act II)  
en todas mis venas  
discurre un hielo. (p. 46c, Act II)

His senses become dulled;

Luquete: Estás sordo... (p.46c, Act II)  
Reina: Está el príncipe muy ciego (p. 47a, Act II),

and his life seems to be inexorably slipping away: 'ya titubea/ la fábrica de la vida' (p. 48a-b, Act II).

The eminent physician Erasistrato understands the nature of the Prince's illness:

Lo que el príncipe padece  
no es de causa material

(56 cont.)      que en el consejo de estado  
                  pudiera no decir nada  
                  Sócrates y Cicerón,  
                  según vengo ya de agudo.

Lope de Vega, Obras escogidas, edited by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 2 vols (Madrid 1969), vol I, p. 1031a, Act I.

pasión del alma inmortal  
es el mal de que adolece (p. 45b, Act II),

and it is entirely due to his skill, which will be discussed under the section on the cures of love melancholy, that the Prince does not die.

The gentle Cardenio, whom Don Quijote and Sancho encounter in the Sierra Morena, is also the victim of frustrated love. His affection for Luscinda is reciprocated, but their happiness is ruined when Fernando decides that he wishes to marry Luscinda. Hope fades as the wedding approaches, and the passions of fear and sadness momentarily gain the upper hand: 'cerróse... la noche de mi tristeza' (57). A hidden witness to the marriage ceremony, Cardenio's reaction is violent:

quedé falto de consejo, desamparado, a mi parecer, de todo el cielo, hecho enemigo de la tierra que me sustentaba, negándome el aire aliento para mis suspiros y el agua humor para los ojos; sólo el fuego se acrecentó, de manera que todo ardía de rabia y de celos. (I, ch. xxvii, pp. 270-271)

The four cosmic elements listed in this speech reflect the utter turmoil of the humours in the microcosm of Cardenio's body. His experience leaves him with a predominance of choler, which is caused by his violent surge of fury. Time passes, in hunger and loneliness, and by the time we meet Cardenio he is alternately violent and calm, fluctuating between 'gentil sosiego' and 'locura' (p. 223). His choler has cooled to cause in him a predominance of melancholy which prevents him from trying to redeem the situation; 'yo no siento en mí valor ni fuerzas para sacar el cuerpo desta estrechez en que por

57. Don Quijote, I, ch. xxvii. Later references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

mi gusto he querido ponerle' (I, ch. xxvii, p. 273). It is left to the other characters in the novel to bring his affairs to a successful conclusion.

The young Febo, of Lope's play La boda entre dos maridos is another man who falls victim to the illness of melancholy caused by frustrated love. He has the misfortune to fall headlong in love with his best friend's fiancée, to whom he is taken one evening to be introduced. To the natural secrecy of the lover is added the knowledge that nothing can be done about his anguish. His hidden frustration is soon manifested in a terrible illness, which is diagnosed as melancholy, and which puts him in danger of his life. In a conversation held between Aurelio, father of Febo's friend, and Lisardo, Fabia's brother, we learn of the supposed cause of the illness, couched in medical terms, and of its confused nature, whereby Febo can sometimes appear to be quite well, and at other times, at death's door.

Aurelio: Es su enfermedad confusa,  
                  enojosa y desigual.  
Lisardo: ¿Qué tiene?  
Aurelio:                   Melancolía...  
                  Hipócrates atribuye  
                  a atrabile aqueste humor,  
                  que (sólo) habiendo furor  
                  e insania, Galeno arguye...  
                  Una maligna acritud,  
                  este corrompido humor,  
                  dice que tiene el doctor,  
                  y muéstralo la inquietud.  
                  Mas esto o aquello sea,  
                  Febo a veces se levanta  
                  tan bueno, que nos espanta,  
                  ni hay hombre que su mal crea. 58

Febo's malady is not of the same type as Antíoco's, which is a

58. BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 414a, Act II. Later references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

wasting illness. Whereas Antíoco is greatly enfeebled and silent, Febo, like Cardenio, becomes quite violent in his anguish, and takes furious fits which border on the edge of insanity. Following the conversation quoted above, the patient comes in, 'furioso', (p, 415a, Act II) and one of the servants explains that 'Febo... se ha vuelto en furia'. Aurelio shouts for Febo, who has been chasing the servant, to be forcibly restrained; and when he has calmed down enough to stop shouting, Febo tells Aurelio that he wishes to die:

Febo: ¡No hay para qué, señor mío!  
¿No ves que estoy muerte y frío  
y que la tierra me llama?  
Llévanme luego a enterrar;  
que tener es desconcierto  
en la cama un cuerpo muerto  
de sufrir y de callar. (P. 415b, Act II)

While his anxious friends are discussing the malignant effects which corrupted black bile are having on Febo's mind and body, the sufferer, for all his seemingly unthinking bouts of fury, retains an accurate impression of the cause of his malady. Wanting to be buried may seem to others like the whim of a man who is losing his reason; but Febo realises not only that his anguish will be the death of him, but that, because he can only suffer in silence, he may as well be dead:

Febo: porque tengo un mal extraño  
de que a nadie cuenta doy,  
claro está que muerto estoy...  
de sufrir y de callar. (p. 416b, Act II)

Both Lope and Tirso use this irony to good effect in several plays which deal with a love melancholy which has caused insanity. It is part, therefore, of medical tradition that insanity is often a result of frustrated love; but it is good theatre which makes the sufferer

utter such pertinent remarks.

One of the great scenes which deals with melancholy madness stemming from frustrated love occurs in Tirso's play Cómo han de ser los amigos. Here again we have the story of a young man who falls deeply in love with his best friend's betrothed. This time, his love is reciprocated, but nobility of mind prevents either the lady Armesinda, or her admirer, Don Manrique, from explaining to Don Gastón the true state of affairs. Armesinda is told that she is to marry Don Gastón, and her grief and frustration are evinced in her loss of sanity and imminent death:

Duque:        porque despues que estos sucesos sabe,  
              hace extremos de loca.    59

Armesinda:    ...mi muerte es cierta.

Another lady, Violante, who is in love with Don Gastón, seems likely to suffer the same fate as the luckless Armesinda:

Violante:    El rey te casa este día  
              con Don Gastón, y los cielos...  
              te dan muerte, mal casada;  
              y a mi, de amor y de celos. (p. 310a, Act III)

The two ladies seem likely to go into a sad decline.

Of the three people in this play who are made melancholy by the imminent marriage of Don Gastón to Armesinda, however, Don Manrique is by far the most spectacular sufferer. In a scene which is rendered extremely amusing by the gracioso Tamayo's treatment of his master's malady, Don Manrique turns mad. He not only wishes he were dead, but subsequently decides that he is in fact dead, and therefore cannot eat, and must be buried instantly. The melancholy delusion that one

59. Obras, vol I, p. 309b, Act III. Later references to this play are given after quotations in the text.



is dead, and therefore cannot eat, was often used by writers; Lope, for example, uses this delusion in his play El Príncipe melancólico.<sup>60</sup> The scene in Cómo han de ser los amigos, however, lays the stress on the funeral arrangements.

Don Manrique, after he has given up any right to Armesinda, indulges in a soliloquy whose language at first seems stylised:

Don Manrique: ¿Qué habeis hecho, amistad ciega?  
Alma loca, ¿qué habeis hecho?  
Por dar la vida a un amigo,  
¿es bien haberme a mí muerto? (p. 306a, Act III)

His reasoning is that of a sane man:

Loco estoy sin Armesinda:  
pero ¿no es mejor que el seso  
pierda un hombre que la fama?  
Claro está: loco soy cuerdo. (p. 306a, Act III)

The decision which Don Manrique has made to go mad is a rational one, achieved by the typical galán's desire to put honour, in this case specifically friendship, above all other considerations. This decision is then put behind him, and Don Manrique begins to evince the typical symptoms of the melancholy lover:

Tamayo: ¿Qué diablos tiene? Suspense  
se pasea, y suspirando,  
la vista enclava en el suelo. (p. 306a, Act III)

Don Manrique, again by force of reasoning, explains to the bewildered Tamayo that he has gone mad:

Don Manrique: ... Confieso  
que estoy loco.  
Tamayo: Yo también.  
¡Ay celemines! ¿Qué es esto?  
Respondedme.  
Don Manrique: ¿Qué respuesta  
te tiene de dar un muerto?  
Tamayo: ¿Tú estás muerto?  
Don Manrique: Sí...  
Ven acá. Cuando da el alma

60. See Babb, p. 47; also see p. 187 in this chapter.

un hombre, ¿no queda muerto?  
Tamayo: Así lo dijo un albéiter,  
tomando el pulso a un jumento.  
Don Manrique: ¿un amante no da el alma  
a su dama?... (p. 306b-307a, Act III)

The sceptical Tamayo is hard to convince on this point, but Don Manrique pursues his idea doggedly; explaining that lovers exchange souls, and concluding,

pues si el alma de Armesinda  
vivía dentro en mi pecho,  
y a Don Gastón se la he dado,  
muerto estoy. (p. 307a, Act III)

Don Manrique then lends full rein to his madness, and Tamayo to his imagination which runs riot in his attempts to give his master a truly splendid "funeral". As Tamayo describes the people who attend this funeral, Don Manrique is constantly underlining the reason for his madness in his comments:

Tamayo: Aquésta es la cofradía  
de la Soledad.  
Don Manrique: Discreto  
fuiste en traerla, pues sólo,  
sin Armesinda, padezco.  
Tamayo: Aquésta es de la Pasión.  
Don Manrique: Será la de mis lamentos.  
Tamayo: Estatua es de los Dolores.  
Don Manrique: Terribles son los que siento (p. 307b-308a, Act III);

and so on. This core of sanity, which allows Don Manrique to add irony and subtlety to Tamayo's funeral arrangements, makes for an excellent dramatic situation: it also stylises the melancholy lover's symptom of madness, although Don Manrique's other symptoms of suffering are obviously genuine:

Tamayo: Algo ha vuelto en su sentido  
y a mi persuasión está  
sosegado, aunque en suspiros  
se le va el alma en pedazos (p. 312a, Act III).

The love-sick César, of Lope's play La quinta de Florencia,

whose early symptoms of pallor, sadness, heaviness of limbs, and silence have already been described, begins to go insane as a result of his frustrated love:

¡Que me abraso, que me muero!  
¡Piedad de mis dulces ojos!  
¿Tantos villanos enojos  
a un alma de un caballero?  
Desnudaréme: haré cosas<sup>61</sup>  
que muevan a compasión.

His mad frenzy, however, is short-lived, as his friends promise to give him Laura, the woman he loves; and he becomes tranquil.

While instances of love melancholy are very common in Golden Age Spanish literature, and there are many cases of illness or madness arising from the corrupted melancholy humour, few people actually die of love. Two deaths occur in Cervantes' short story, El curioso impertinente. Anselmo, through his own wanton curiosity, has ruined his own marriage and the happiness of himself, his best friend, and his beloved wife. Lotario, his friend, and Camila, his wife, are practically forced into betraying Anselmo's trust and creating an impossible situation. Anselmo is still in love with, and married to Camila; while Lotario has seduced his best friend's wife. The problem is solved in the only possible way: within a short space of time, all three characters are dead. Lotario, who has become a soldier, dies in battle. Camila, who has run to a monastery, dies, not when she hears of Anselmo's death, but upon hearing of Lotario's fatal wound. While she still hoped for a happy outcome of the affair after her husband's death, that of her lover causes a fatal love-melancholy sickness:

61. BAE, Obras, vol 33, p. 166a, Act II.

dícese que aunque se vió viuda, no quiso salir del monasterio, ni menos, hacer profesión de monja, hasta que, no de allí a muchos días, le vinieron nuevas que Lotario había muerto en una batalla que en aquel tiempo dio monsiur de Lantres al Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba en el vecino de Nápcles, donde había ido a pasar el tarde arrepentido amigo; lo cual sabido por Camila, hizo profesión, y acabó en breves días la vida, a las rigurosas manos de tristezas y melancolías.<sup>62</sup>

It is not, therefore, Camila's loss of honour and enforced retirement from the world which causes her to die, but the news that Lotario has been killed: Cervantes makes this point clear by his description of Camila's reluctance to take orders until she hears of Lotario's death.

While Camila dies from melancholy brought about by grief at her beloved's death, Anselmo's death is more complex. It would be fair to say that melancholy caused by unhappiness in love contributed to his death; but what really killed him was his loss of honour when he is led to believe that Lotario and Camila have run away together,

Contemplábase y mirábase en un instante sin mujer, sin amigo y sin criados, desamparado, a su parecer, del cielo que le cubría, y sobre todo sin honra, porque en la falta de Camila vió su perdición. (I, ch. xxxv, p. 369)

Anselmo, having lost his wife and his honour, has nothing left to live for; he dies of melancholy.

Con tan desdichas nuevas, casi llegó a términos Anselmo, no sólo de perder el juicio sino a acabar la vida. Levantóse como pudo, y llegó a casa de su amigo, que aún no sabía su desgracia; mas como le vió llegar amarillo, consumido y seco, entendió que de algún mal venía fatigado. (I, ch. xxxv, p. 369-370)

Death ensues so quickly that the unfortunate Anselmo has not even the time to write of his misfortune: he dies in mid-sentence.

So far in this section on the symptoms of love melancholy we have dealt with works of literature which describe maladies ranging

62. Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, ch. xxxv, pp. 370-371. Later references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

in seriousness from sadness, to illness, madness and death. Before continuing our study with an examination of the cures for melancholy, I would like to mention a play which, in its description of two deaths, contains all the above-mentioned aspects of love-melancholy. It even manages to have a happy ending. This play, by Lope de Vega, is called El halcón de Federico.

Like Don Sancho, of El celoso prudente, Camilo, who is happily married to Celia, has cause to suspect her fidelity. He becomes extremely jealous, and his fears and suspicions make of him a melancholy type, suffering from

celos bastardos de amor,  
locos, que formáis de sueños  
imaginaciones vanas;...  
bastardos, locos, mortales,  
imaginaciones, miedos,  
fantasmas, sospechas, dudas. 63

His mental agony soon manifests itself in symptoms which are typical of the melancholy lover:

Celia: ...De la cama se levanta  
tan triste, y con silencio tan notable,  
que a mí me mata, y los demás espanta...  
cualquier cosa con rigor le altera  
no hay sombra que no diga que es gigante  
Aureliano: Melancolía pertinaz y fiera. (p. 237b, Act II)

Unfortunately, Camilo has not Don Sancho's prudence in the matter, and becomes mistakenly convinced that Celia has been unfaithful. By means of a tortured reasoning reminiscent of Don Manrique's methods in Cómo han de ser los amigos, Camilo decides to go mad. Again, he has no alternative; for, he muses, killing Celia would only have the unfortunate effect of bringing the affair out into the open and

63. BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 227a, Act II. Later references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

causing him loss of honour, while to kill himself would be unreasonable, as he has done nothing wrong. He decides, therefore, to kill his brain. This, to our modern way of thinking, is a deplorably callous way of reviewing the situation; and the cold and calculating ratiocination seems quite incompatible with the subsequent pitiful ravings and deliriums in which the jealous man indulges. This discrepancy, however, comes in useful when the madman is on stage and able to utter, in seeming lunacy, ironically pertinent remarks.

Camilo is an extreme example of a melancholy madman, as one man describes him:

... ya su melancolía  
dió a través con su juicio  
en el mar de la tristeza  
que tantos cubre de olvido.  
Por las calles de Florencia  
viene tu amado Camilo  
dando voces y arrojando,  
como loco, los vestidos.  
No le he podido tener,  
ni han bastado sus amigos,  
que con igual sentimiento  
lloran su daño conmigo (p. 238a, Act II).

Another concludes that 'esta locura es mortal' (p. 238a, Act II).

The case is quite hopeless; no cure is even attempted:

ningún remedio imagino;  
hazle, señora, llevar  
a la cama (p. 239a, Act II);

and we later learn that Camilo has died, insane.

The story, however, is not yet over; for in the third act, Camilo's son, César, dies of melancholy from a different cause, and in a different manner. Whereas in Camilo's case jealousy, the "bastard branch" of love melancholy had caused insanity and subsequent death, in César's case it is caused by the impossibility of his possessing something he loves; a falcon. Celia's old admirer, Federico, is the

possessor of this falcon, and he and César often go out hunting together. Federico offers to give the falcon to César, but the boy, knowing that Federico is very poor, refuses the gift, and immediately on returning home, collapses from melancholy. No cure is possible, as the falcon's neck is wrung by Federico in a situation whose poignancy, symbolism apart, verges on the comic. César dies immediately; but Federico at least has the satisfaction of marrying Celia, whom he has served so long and diligently.

As a final comment on the symptoms of love melancholy, I would like to set down part of a conversation between two galanes in Alarcón's comedy, Mudarse por mejorarse, which underlines and derides the symptoms of melancholy lovers. The Marqués, on hearing that Otavio has love troubles, mocks him thus:

Pensé que vuestro cuidado  
causaban cosas de honor.  
¿En Madrid os tiene amor  
tan triste y desesperado?  
¡Qué bien se ve que venís  
al uso de Andalucía,  
donde viven todavía  
las finezas de Amadís!  
Acá se ha visto mejor;  
más a provecho se quiere;  
no sólo nadie no muere,  
pero ni enferma de amor. 64

ii. Cures for love melancholy

The cures for love melancholy, like the symptoms, vary according to the type and severity of the malady, and tend to be cumulative. Suggestions for the cures are made not only by doctors; it appears that any Golden Age character had a working knowledge of melancholia,

64. Obras, vol I, p. 483, Act I

and could suggest remedies for it, just as he could diagnose it from the symptoms described above. The layman's opinion of the members of the medical profession was very low, at all events; and courtiers, lady's maids or graciosos, in the light of the lack of confidence in the doctors of that day, would often take it upon themselves to effect a cure.

The first and most important cure for melancholy of any type, is to remedy the cause; and in order to remedy the cause, it must be known. The royal physician, Erasistrato, of the play Antíoco y Seleuco explains succinctly how a knowledge of the cause of an illness is essential:

conocida su querella,  
remedio tendrá el doctor;  
mas no es posible, señor,<sup>65</sup>  
remediarla sin sabella.

The sufferer's protestations that he is suffering from a melancholy, stemming from corrupt black bile, rather than a sadness which stems from a definite cause, are usually taken with a pinch of salt, especially when the ailment only leads to emotional distress rather than physical illness. The heroine, Ruth, of a play by Tirso entitled La mejor espiigadera, which is a reconstruction of the famous biblical Ruth story, is melancholy because she is being forced into an unwelcome marriage. Ruth wishes to marry an Israelite, and this frustration of her desires leads to melancholy. The wedding is postponed, and Ruth's friends beg her to tell them the cause of her sadness, although Ruth has reiterated to them that she is merely suffering from a bad humour:

65. Moreto, Comedias escogidas, p. 45b, Act II.



Orfá: ¿Es posible, prima mía,  
que no sabemos el mal  
que destierra tu alegría?  
La enfermedad más mortal,  
la mayor melancolía  
remedio buscar procura;  
y el tormento que hay más grave  
conocido se asegura,  
porque el mal que no se sabe  
con dificultad se cura.<sup>66</sup>

When the melancholy lover has managed to convince those surrounding him that his symptoms point to melancholy stemming from a corrupt humour rather than sadness caused by something going wrong, a contrast is often drawn between the sadness, which could be cured easily by knowledge of its cause, and melancholy, which is a matter for the doctor's skill.

Laura, the heroine of Calderón's drama Casa con dos puertas, mala es de guardar, replies in this vein to her father's inquiry as to what is the matter with her:

si yo, señor, supiera  
la causa de mi mal...  
el consuelo mayor, menos el llanto  
fuera, pues fuera entonces el sabella  
el primer aforismo de vencella.  
Pero la pena mía  
es, señor, natural melancolía,  
y así el efecto hace,  
sin que llegue a saber de lo que nace;  
que esta distancia dió naturaleza  
en la melancolía y la tristeza.<sup>67</sup>

The two men who, in La boda entre dos maridos, discuss the plight of the young Febo, are likewise left in the dark as to the true nature of his illness, and, again, contrast sadness, with its easy cure, with melancholy:

66. Obras, vol I, p. 996a-b, Act II.

67. Obras, vol II, p. 283a-b, Act I.

Lisardo: ¿Qué tiene?  
Aurelio: Melancolía.  
Lisardo: ¿Melancolía de qué?  
Aurelio: A saberse la ocasión,  
fuera, Lisardo, tristeza,  
y luego se remediara  
que se entendiera el secreto,  
porque cesara el efeto  
como la causa cesara.  
Mas siendo melancolía,  
de sólo el humor procede,  
y remediarse no puede  
mientras el humor porfía. 68

Febo's friend Lauro, however, has less knowledge of the subject, but, because of his anxiety and love for his friend, urges Febo again and again to tell him what is the matter, until Febo relents. As Febo is love-sick for Lauro's own fiancée, it is in Lauro's hands to effect a cure. Lauro promises to give Fabia up in favour of his friend:

hoy serás de Fabia  
y hoy seré de Fabia bella  
un español Alejandro. (p. 421b, Act II)

or, more crudely, 'quien tiene más hambre, coma'. This Febo does, and is instantly cured.

A knowledge of the cause of love melancholy is effective as a cure, because it implies an immediate removal of that cause. The friends of a melancholy person always promise, and try to fulfil that promise, to do all in their power to help the sufferer and alleviate his pain. The list of examples of a cure for melancholy by means of a knowledge of its cause and the cause's subsequent removal is endless; for, being the only cure which is really effectual in Spanish Golden Age literature, it occurs in all those plays which deal with a case of love melancholy and which have a successful out-

68. Lope, BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 414b, Act II. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

come. I shall therefore avoid more obvious and general examples, where the melancholic's suffering is alleviated by union with the object of his passion, and mention a few more unusual and concrete cases.

In the case of a love which has no expectation of a happy outcome, such as the adulterous love of the Duke for his wife's companion Nisea, in Moreto's play El defensor de su agravio, another way must be found. The advice which is given the Duke in this case is to remove the cause of his melancholy, literally, by avoiding all thoughts of and contact with the lady in question:

Lidoro: Pues no hables en ella tanto,  
ni la busques ni la veas,  
vencete en este deseo. <sup>69</sup>

This excellent advice, which has been proffered to lovers through the ages, formed a part of Ovid's policy in his Remedia amoris. <sup>70</sup> This idea that melancholy could be cured by removing the cause also occurs in Tirso de Molina's play La fingida Arcadia, where Lucrecia, following a quarrel with her loved one, loses her mind. Lucrecia has been using her pastoral romances as a pretext for being alone in order to meet Felipe, and her uncle Hortensio naturally leaps to the conclusion that the books are to blame for his niece's madness. Hortensio draws a parallel between his niece's case and that of Don Quijote, who went mad as a result of reading chivalresque romances:

¡Miren aquí qué provecho  
causan libros semejantes!  
después de muerto Cervantes

69. Comedias escogidas, p. 498a, Act II.

70. Ovid, Remedia amoris, edited by E.J. Kenney (Oxford 1961), pp. 229-230, lines 623-642.

la tercera parte ha hecho  
de don Quijote. ¡Oh civiles  
pasatiempos de estos días!  
¡Libros de caballerías  
y quimeras pastoriles  
causan estas pesadumbres  
y, asentando escuela el vicio,  
o destruyen el juicio,  
o corrompen las costumbres! 71

His reaction is to burn the books, but this move appears to be more in the nature of a punishment than an attempt at a cure: 'ya ha castigado justamente el fuego/ los libros, confusión de su sosiego' (p. 1411b, Act II).

The melancholy sufferer is often urged to take the step of confiding in someone, as Diana, La serrana de Tormes advocates:

Si puede ser el mal comunicable,  
¿quién duda que en el alma disminuye  
gran parte del estado miserable?  
Con el amigo fácilmente huye  
del corazón la pena que le ofende. 72

These confidences are, of course, necessary both for the sake of the plot, and to enable us to see into the minds of the characters, so that the listener can ascertain the cause of the melancholy, and seek a cure. It was also believed, however, that the very act of unburdening one's soul, as that figure of speech suggests, could mitigate the feeling of sadness, by setting free the pent up humours and emotions; just as crying or sighing was held to alleviate grief. Confiding, then, brings physical relief, as well as emotional relief and the chance of a remedy. This point can be illustrated with a comment from Comino the gracioso in Moreto's play El defensor de su agravio,

71. Obras, vol II, p. 1408b, Act II. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

72. Lope de Vega, RAE, Obras, vol 9, p. 452a, Act II.

who equates confiding in someone with bleeding:

al instante le sentencio  
a que con mucha presteza  
se sangre aquí vuestra alteza  
de la vena del silencio.<sup>73</sup>

Removal and remedy of the cause, and confiding in a friend, are undoubtedly the most effective methods of curing love melancholy; but they are not the only ones to be suggested or put into practice. One of the most important maxims for the treatment of melancholy is to encourage the patient to be diverted from his sadness in some way. This diversion would serve to provide temporary relief by distracting the patient's thoughts, while at the same time the outside factors could influence the bodily functions and bring about a better humoral balance.

The best healer, naturally, is time: 'es el médico perfecto'.<sup>74</sup> In the meantime, other diversions are advocated. Rest, or sleep, is particularly beneficial to the melancholic type, as it has a moistening effect on the brain, and therefore serves to mitigate the dry black humour. It also has the merciful power of blanketing the senses, and, while the mind is unconscious, the cold, dry passion of sadness eases its grip on the heart and allows the warm, vital spirits to flow more freely, while the body can recuperate some of its strength. When the melancholy Ruth, of Tirso's play La mejor espi- gadera, falls asleep, Timbreo urges his companions, 'dejadla, que

73. Comedias escogidas, p. 492c, Act I.

74. Lope de Vega, El príncipe melancólico, RAE, Obras, vol 1, p. 347b, Act III.

siempre el sueño/ es de la tristeza dueño'.<sup>75</sup> A change of scene, to more pleasant surroundings, is often thought to alleviate melancholy. The patient is often urged to sit out in the garden, in the hope that its beauty will divert his or her sad thoughts. Don Iñigo, when his daughter Doña Estefanía complains of melancholy, suggests

¿Porqué al campo no saldrás?  
Si en él la eficacia ves  
con que divierten sus flores,  
y alegran sus aires puros?<sup>76</sup>

Beauty, in the form of flowers, has long been known to exercise a beneficial effect:

Pinzón: Las flores siempre tuvieron  
sobre la melancolía  
jurisdicción; dice aquesto  
Hipócrates.<sup>77</sup>

The gracioso Chirimía of Tirso's play Cautela contra cautela, thinks his master has gone mad from grief, and begs the king to allow him to exercise an effective cure:

Dadnos, gran señor, licencia  
que nos volvamos a España;  
que mudando aires y tierras  
sanará desta locura.<sup>78</sup>

If travel or the contemplation of nature is out of the question, any form of entertainment is held to alleviate melancholy pangs.

One questionable method, used by graciosos, is to tell jokes: Don Iñigo, in El amor médico, urges Tello:

Tello, tu alegrar solías

75. Obras, vol I, p. 989b, Act I.

76. Tirso, El amor médico, Obras, vol II, p. 988b, Act II.

77. Tirso, La fingida Arcadia, Obras, vol II, p. 1413b, Act II.

78. Obras, vol II, p. 958a, Act III.

sus tristezas con frialdades:  
di algunas.<sup>79</sup>

Tello, in the course of his joke-telling, hits the nail on the head by telling Doña Estefanía that her best cure would be a husband; so that he only serves to infuriate the love-sick damsel. The melancholy Leonor's brother, of Calderón's play, No hay cosa como callar, suggests that, by taking his sister to see a masque, he can alleviate her melancholy.<sup>80</sup> This method of cure is also suggested in Los locos de Valencia for the mad Fedra by the doctor;

Hoy, día de los Santos inocentes,  
hace fiesta en esta casa,  
que se llama porrate en nuestra lengua,  
sacalda a un corredor, a una ventana;<sup>81</sup>  
vea la gente, alégrese, entreténgase.

Some diversions are not successful as cures for melancholy, as they are equivocal in nature, and may exacerbate the melancholy instead of alleviating it. This is true of music and, to a lesser extent, the influence of the countryside. While some medical treatises recommended the use of music to shift the melancholic humour, others doubted whether its influence was always beneficial. Rodrigo de Arévalo, in his treatise entitled Vergel de los príncipes, explained that the right type of music had to be used if a cure was wanted; the cure being by the use of opposites. Sad people were not to be played quiet, sad love songs, but rousing tunes: the gentle melodies would have a beneficial, calming effect on angry types.<sup>82</sup>

79. Obras, vol II, p. 989a, Act II.

80. Obras, vol I, p. 330b, Act II.

81. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol I, p. 128c, Act III.

82. See chapter four, p. 115, note 25 of this study.

This notion of pathetic fallacy is brought over to the literature of the Golden Age; and as the love-lorn courtiers were most likely to be listening to love songs, the bad effects of music were often stressed. Fulgencia, heroine of Lope's play El bobo del colegio is suffering from love melancholy; and her brother, not realising the cause of her sadness, brings some musicians along to cheer her up, although he is not optimistic about the result:

Octavio: aunque pienso que cantallá  
          ha de ser entristecella...  
Don Juan: Si música le traeis,  
          justa sospecha teneis,  
          que es de los efectos della  
          añadir tristeza al triste. 83

The musician Leida, who sings of her woes in Tirso's play El mayor desengaño, echoes Rodrigo de Arévalo's statement in her explanation of how music has the property of naturally enhancing one's predominant emotion:

... como es propio efecto  
de la música obrar en el sujeto  
según sus calidades  
aumentando a tristezas soledades,  
y al contento alegría,  
penas, cantando, a penas añadía:  
que el triste...  
mejor entonces canta cuando llora. 84

It is usually agreed that, just as music 'al alegre da gusto, y pena al triste', the countryside is a subjective influence and therefore an equivocal means of cure. When the melancholy Doña Estefanía is advised to go into the country, she replies:

83. BAE, Obras, vol I, p. 189c, Act II.

84. Obras, vol II, p. 1205a, Act II.

85. Tirso, La mejor espigadera, Obras, vol I, p. 989b, Act I.



No son remedios seguros  
los que acrecienten rigores  
el campo al triste entristece,  
como la música.<sup>86</sup>

Marcos, in Celos con celos se curan, is of exactly the same opinion:

porque los mismos efetos  
causan la música y campos,  
si es verdad que son aumentos  
de tristezas en el triste,<sup>87</sup>  
de gustos en el contento.

All the cures which have been dealt with so far are those which are suggested for the alleviation of melancholy when the patient is merely sad; although they can be used also to help cure those who are ill or insane. When the melancholic actually becomes ill enough to take to his bed, however, more drastic cures, administered by doctors, are called for. Lope and Tirso were especially interested in the presence and advice of doctors, and these professionals feature several times in their dramas, spouting their incomprehensible medical terms, and usually contributing very little towards an actual cure. I say "usually" advisedly; because some of the doctors in question were anything but genuine, and often contributed greatly to the intricacy of the plot, as we shall see below.

The medical cures employed in Golden Age literature were concerned with diet, bleeding, and purging. As far as diet was concerned, it was first of all considered beneficial that the patient should eat and drink; 'hazle comer y beber,/ y verás que vuelve en sí'; as the melancholic had a tendency to starve himself.<sup>88</sup> Some

86. Tirso, El amor médico, Obras, vol II, p. 988b, Act II.

87. Tirso, Obras, vol II, p. 1342a, Act I.

88. Lope de Vega, La fuerza lastimosa, BAE, Obras, vol 30, p. 59a, Act III.

foods and drinks, however, were of more use in shifting the cold, burnt humour than others. This herbal remedy, given by a fake doctor for a feigned illness, nevertheless was said to be particularly efficacious:

Beltrán: Haga que cuezan romero,  
ruda y tomillo salsero  
en media azumbre de vino,  
y átselo en un tobillo;<sup>89</sup>  
que podrá dormir mejor.

Taken internally, wine's heating properties were undoubtedly good for melancholy, and the doctor in Los locos de Valencia prescribes it for his patient:

y dalde vino, si beberlo quiere,  
que desbaratan mucho aquellas sombras  
los humos densos y vapores crasos;<sup>90</sup>  
que en efeto es humor árido y frío.

In counteracting the cold, dry humour with the heat and moisture of wine, the doctor is implementing the old idea of curing by means of opposites, thus:

todo el mal...  
curan contrarios mejor.  
Con calor se cura el frío<sup>91</sup>  
y el frío cura el calor.

Purging the melancholy humour was also a popular method, and one used by the doctor to alleviate Febo's distress in Lope's play La boda entre dos maridos: 'a Febo hemos purgado/ mas de poco efecto ha sido'.<sup>92</sup> Of more drastic effect, and in much worse taste, is the

89. Lope de Vega, El acero de Madrid, BAE, Obras, vol I, p. 372c, Act II.

90. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 1, p. 128c, Act III.

91. Lope de Vega, Los bandos de Sena, RAE, Obras, vol 3, p. 540b, Act I.

92. BAE, Obras, vol 31, p. 414b, Act II.

purge administered to the sinful comendador's servant, Gallando, in La dama del olivar. Gallando's purge is a mixture of rhubarb and senna, administered because

... El humor  
queremos sacar, traidor,  
que bellaco os vino a hacer,  
y a todos nos alborota.  
Callad y sufrí el castigo. 93

Gallando, after a period of great suffering, exclaims;

yo vengo tan bien purgado,  
que ningún mal humor queda  
en mi cuerpo ni en mi alma, (p. 1218b, Act III)

and subsequently turns positively saintly.

In Tirso de Molina's comedy La fingida Arcadia the gracioso Pinzón, who is posing as a doctor, outlines a two part cure for melancholy which is both amusing and in part based on real contemporary methods.<sup>94</sup> The patient's malady is, supposedly, madness caused by the readings of pastoral romances; and the second part of the cure is a method used exclusively for those who are melancholy mad. This is the technique of "humouring" the patient, or following the whims caused by the corrupt humours, in the hope that the cause of madness can be removed by, as it were, calling its bluff, and preventing the patient from thinking that there is something wrong.

Because Pinzón's amusing prescription is a good example of the method of humouring, and a debunking, with elements of truth, of the

93. Obras, vol I, p. 1210a, Act I. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

94. For critical studies of this play see (i) Margaret Wilson, Tirso de Molina, TWAS (Boston 1977), pp. 53-56; and (ii) Ruth Lee Kennedy, 'Literary and Political Satire in Tirso's La fingida Arcadia', first published in The Renaissance Reconsidered, Smith College Studies in History, 44 (Northampton, Mass. 1964), and reprinted with slight revisions in Studies in Tirso, I, ch iii.

diets recommended by doctors at that time to their patients, I shall reproduce it in full:

..Y como que acierto,  
para principio de cura  
se le haga un cocimiento  
de nabos y escaramujas,  
mirabolanos y puerros;  
dos onzas de polipodio,  
cuatro manos de espliego,  
un ojo de un gato zurdo  
y media azumbre de suero;  
cuézanse las cuatro partes  
y aplíquenle un cristal luego  
por preservar 'almorroides';  
coma perdigones nuevos,  
pavillas de a nueve meses  
y beberá vino añejo,  
que laetificat cor hominis,  
cene pichones y huevos.  
Y porque me ha informado  
que estos males procedieron  
de leer libros pastoriles,  
y a los que no tienen seso  
contradecirles sus temas  
es de nuevo enfurecellos,  
texto non est irritandum  
y otros que de industria dejó  
finjanse todos pastores  
las metáforas siguiendo  
de los libros que ha leído;  
hagan bailes, cantan versos,  
y si los hay en sus libros,  
inventen encantamientos,  
que, siguiéndole el humor  
y divertida con esto,  
la medicina, entre tanto, 95  
podría lograr sus efectos.

This same method of humouring the patient can be seen in many plays where someone has either gone mad or is thought to have gone mad. When Don Manrique, of Tirso's play Cómo han de ser los amigos, suffers, in his madness, from the delusion that he is dead, and must be buried, his servant complies with this medical precept of humouring

95. Obras, vol II, pp. 1414b-1415a, Act II.

by his prolonged and amusing enactment of a funeral.<sup>96</sup> The phrase 'seguirle el humor' is one which is found frequently in Golden Age Spanish literature, and the method of curing by humouring is one which is particularly favoured by the characters in certain plays by Moreto and Lope de Vega; where, as I shall explain later, the madness is feigned and the humouring is done, in the case of Lope's plays, with a definite end in view.

iii. Three different treatments of the love melancholy topic

So far, we have dealt with the traditional causes, symptoms, and cures of the disease of frustrated love. This section of the chapter will be concerned with an examination of the various ulterior motives which lead to a feigning of melancholy.

a. The dissembling hero

In order to differentiate love sickness from a physical imbalance of the humours leading to a preponderance or corruption of black bile, Spanish Golden Age writers labelled the latter as melancholy, and the former as sadness. Many characters in literature, wishing to deny that they have cause to be sad, attach to themselves the label of "melancholic" and so pretend that their troubles stem from a bad humour. Their unwillingness to speak of their troubles could be caused by a physiological phenomenon, which makes love sick people voluble when happy, and silent when sad. Fenisa, in Moreto's play Lo que puede la aprehensión, explains this idea:

en cualquiera ocasión,  
si tu atención lo repara,

96. Obras, vol I, pp. 307-309, Act III.

verás que cuenta más bien  
el que está herido de amor  
la ventura y el favor  
que la pena y el desdén;  
y de acción tan desigual  
buscar la causa he querido,  
y en mi propia he conocido  
que es efeto natural.  
El favor, la suerte buena  
ensanchan el corazón,  
y con esta inflamación  
de gusto el pecho se llena.  
El que se halla satisfecho  
de aquel bien que amor le aplica,  
el gusto que comunica  
es lo que sobra del pecho.  
Y al contrario, una aflicción,  
un dolor que el pecho inquieta,  
tanto le oprime y le aprieta,  
que se encoge el corazón,  
viniéndole a restringir.  
Por grande que sea un pesar,  
deja en el alma lugar  
a otro que pueda venir;  
que esta interior galería  
del alma, con sus lugares,  
no la ocupan mil pesares,  
y la llena una alegría.  
Esta es la causa en quien ama  
de que uno guarde, otro arroje;  
que el pesar él se recoge,  
y el contento él se derrama. 97

This physiological description of the effect which sadness has upon the sufferer's heart could explain the reason, for example, for the reticence of Galen's patient, who would not tell him that she was love sick. It could also explain the reticence of countless other lovers in Spanish Golden Age literature who pretend that their sadness is caused by black bile, rather than stating the real reason.

One such reticent lover is Rogerio, protagonist of Tirso's play El melancólico. This young man who, because of his noble birth, which has up until now been concealed, steps from rags to riches

overnight, suffers from a sad melancholy, which is attributed to the natural predominance in his body of black bile. Rogerio is obviously of melancholic complexion, for he is a very intelligent young man, who excels in the arts of fighting, painting, music, dialectics, philosophy, astrology, metaphysics, and poetry. Intelligence is the prerogative of the melancholy type, and this is underlined by his being described as a man of dry mind and cold passions. When he is made the legitimate son and heir of the Duke, he becomes sunk in sadness; and, when his father queries this, '¿melancólico tú?/ ¿Tú con tristeza?', explains that he feels sad because, now that his high standing in society is assured, he can no longer have the satisfaction of knowing himself to be a self-made genius.<sup>98</sup> His father takes this opportunity to air his medical knowledge:

Toda melancolía  
ingeniosa, es un ramo de manía,  
y no hay sabio que un poco,  
si a Platón damos fe, no toque en loco, (p. 234b,II)

and is satisfied that he has got to the bottom of the matter. He is, however, quite wrong; Rogerio is in actual fact sad because he is now unable to see Leonisa, the girl whom, in his previous humbler state, he was going to marry. In a soliloquy, he reveals that

todo esto es, Leonisa mía,  
con sofisticas razones,  
buscar necias ocasiones  
para mi melancolía.  
Si yo no te viera el día  
que perdí mi libertad,  
fuera esta prosperidad  
el colmo de mi contento. (p. 235b, Act II)

He recognises that the only cure for this unhappiness is to make

98. Obras, vol I, p. 234a, Act II. Later references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

Leonisa his bride:

melancólico estaré  
toda mi vida si pasan  
adelante los efectos  
por no remediar la causa.  
Leonisa ha de ser mi dueña. (p. 264b, Act II)

Fortunately for Rogerio's well-being, Leonisa turns out to be as nobly born as he, and their marriage is made not only possible but eminently desirable.

The strongest motive which underlies the reticence of the melancholy lover is that of keeping an honourable reputation. In a series of plays, Calderón's heroines use the pretext of a natural melancholy to hide a sadness caused by unluckiness in love or a shaming of their virtue. Beneath this deception, they are left free to pursue their sadness, or object of their attractions, and attempt to bring about a happy outcome to their affairs.

One play in this group, entitled No hay cosa como callar, is typical of this type of love melancholy. The heroine of this play, Leonor, when her house is on fire, takes refuge in the house of an honourable nobleman, and spends the night there. Unfortunately, the nobleman's son, less honourable than his father, arrives home unexpectedly and, finding Leonor in his bed, rapes her. Back with her brother, Leonor evinces all the melancholy symptoms of sighing and crying, but upon being asked what is the matter, dissembles:

Toda melancolía  
nace sin ocasión, y así es la mía;  
que aquesta distinción naturaleza  
dió a la melancolía y la tristeza;  
y para ella, los medios son más sabios<sup>gg</sup>  
llorar los ojos y callar los labios.



Her brother accepts this explanation and, full of concern, offers to take her out, in the hope that some entertainment will divert her sad thoughts. Leonor, however, insists that she wishes to be left alone to her crying and sighing. This wish is not due to the melancholic's natural desire for solitude, but so that Leonor can sigh over her ills without putting her honour at risk.

This pattern is followed in several other plays by Calderón. The wronged, jealous, or frustrated heroine manifests the typical love-sick symptoms of sighing and weeping, and violent speech, and, upon being asked the reason for her melancholy, draws a distinction between causeless melancholy and sadness, which has a cause, and explains that she is suffering from melancholy. She states a desire to be left alone, and then bewails her fate in disjointed soliloquies, interspersed by sighs. Thanks, however, to the light-hearted nature of these plays, the outcome is a happy one, without the lady having had to risk her honour in any way.<sup>100</sup>

b. The bogus doctor

A second type of deception with regard to love melancholy was practised more with a view to keeping in close contact with the one you loved, although the rule of silence still held good. This deception involved the contraction of an illness which was partly, or wholly, feigned, and the presence of a fake doctor. There are, for example, plays in which the doctor, who is a gracioso in disguise, acts as a go-between for his master and a love-sick lady. Such a

100. See also Casa con dos puertas mala es de guardar, El conde Lucanor, and Afectos de odio y amor, where the same pattern is found.

play is Lope's El acero de Madrid, where the heroine, Belisa, feigns opilaciones, a type of arterial blockage whose symptoms and means of cure are similar to those of melancholy; in order to let her lover's servant, Beltrán, into the house. The case of Lucrecia, in Tirso's play La fingida Arcadia, is more pertinent to our study of the humours. Lucrecia, as we have seen, pretends to be a melancholic man-hater so that she may be left alone to pursue a secret love-affair with her galán, who is disguised as a gardener. Soon, due to a misunderstanding, Lucrecia and Felipe quarrel, and Felipe runs away. Lucrecia manifests all the symptoms of one whose love-affair has gone awry; but her bewildered uncle, servants and suitors, not knowing that she has ever been in love, misread the signs, and believe her to have been driven insane from an excessive reading of pastoral literature. The news of the beautiful girl's loss of reason soon reaches the ears of her beloved Felipe, who, filled with remorse, rushes back to her side, disguised as apprentice to his gracioso servant Pinzón, who poses as a doctor. Lucrecia's uncle, who attributes his niece's madness to the reading of pastoral literature, has tried to humour his niece by bringing the pages of Lope's Arcadia to life:

Quiétase si, siguiendo el desatino  
de sus locuras, digo que es serrana,  
que su Anfiso la adora, y si convino  
hacer ausencia, volverá mañana. 101

With the arrival of the "doctor" and his assistant, the girl's symptoms and her companions' method of cure do not change; but the motives are different. Until Felipe's return, Lucrecia is genuinely suffering from melancholy madness caused by frustrated love, and is

101. Obras, vol II, p. 1411b, Act II.

only comforted by the assurance that her lover will return. On recognising Felipe, who has indeed come back to her, Lucrecia's sanity is instantly restored, for her love can flow freely; however, the need to dissemble is still present. Lucrecia now pretends to be mad in order that Pinzón, her "doctor", can act as go-between, and she can see Felipe without fear of discovery.

In Tirso's drama El amor médico, a doctor is also treating a patient for a melancholy sickness caused by love; but, instead of being the go-between, the doctor is the object of the patient's love. What is more unfortunate is that both patient and doctor are female, although the latter, for reasons of her own, is in disguise. This situation, naturally, makes for good theatre, and a very comic situation. Doña Estefanía's condition, again, is partly genuine and partly feigned. She feels melancholy because her passion for a man (she supposes) who is so far beneath her in station (she supposes again) cannot lead to a happy outcome; but it is also in her interest to be ill so that the doctor will call frequently, and touch her hand while feeling her pulse. Because the doctor is really Doña Jerónima in disguise, the situation is by definition a sterile one, and Doña Estefanía falls prey to Doña Jerónima's machinations.

A last example of a situation involving a love sick heroine and a bogus doctor is to be found in Alarcón's play Quien mal anda en mal acaba, and provides a refreshing slant. The bogus doctor is the one who is in love; and the heroine Aldonza's melancholy is a front to conceal the fact that she is out of love rather than in love. Aldonza, until the arrival on the scene of a doctor, is happily engaged to be married to Don Juan. Román has fallen in love at first

sight with Aldonza and has made a pact with the Devil in order to secure her. The Devil helps Román to pose as a doctor; and, so that Aldonza will have need of his services, casts a spell on the hapless girl so that don Juan appears hideously ugly in her eyes. A subsequent meeting between Aldonza and don Juan makes for horror on the part of the girl, and consternation on the part of the groom, until the maid, Leonor, smooths over the gap by pretending that her mistress is ill:

pienso que una enfermedad  
que en el corazón padece  
y ha muy poco que le ha dado,  
este disgusto ha causado  
que vuestro amor no merece;  
que siempre que lo ha tenido  
aunque libre del dolor,  
del melancólico humor  
vuelve a cobrar el sentido.  
Es tan turbado y confuso,  
que por gran rato no entiende,  
y la pasión le suspende  
de las potencias el uso. 102

Aldonza, in her shock at finding don Juan so repulsive, is quite willing to go along with this deception:

yo me siento de tal suerte  
sujeta a melancolía  
que no hay para mí alegría,  
sino acercarme a la muerte (p. 184, Act I),

and the devilish Román has his opportunity to get close to Aldonza.

c. The bogus madman

The last variation on the theme of love melancholy which I am going to discuss is concerned specifically with melancholy madmen whose madness is feigned, in order that they may achieve their own

102. Obras, vol III, p. 183, Act I. The next reference to this play is given after the quotation in the text.

ends. 103

Moreto, in his plays El desdén, con el desdén and Antíoco y Seleuco has shown a familiarity with the genuine disease of melancholia. In two more plays, El licenciado vidriera and El parecido en la corte, he presents two cases of melancholy which is feigned for self-interested reasons.

Carlos, the protagonist of El licenciado vidriera, has reached the nadir of his fortunes. He is without money, without recognition of his superior qualities and disinterested deeds, and deprived of the woman he loves. He therefore decides to attract attention in the only possible way; by pretending, even to his servant, that he is mad and thinks that he is made of glass.<sup>104</sup> He feigns furious fits, and successfully conveys the impression that he is convinced that people are trying to break him. The people of the court are vastly entertained, and Carlos, "mad", wins the recognition and the riches that should have been his when he was just being himself. Gerundio, who is unaware that his master is dissembling and who would not, in any case, have cared about life's injustice, is pleased by the turn of events. He, like all characters in Golden Age drama, knows the proper method of cure for madness; '..llevarle el humor/ es fuerza, y disimular', but this conventional knowledge goes counter to his wish to exploit his master's illness to the full, and retire rich.<sup>105</sup>

103. Wilson, Tirso de Molina, p. 70, draws attention to Tirso's El Aquiles, where 'there is a typical mad scene where Ulysses tries to escape his dilemma by pretending to have lost his reason'.

104. See chapter 6, note 1, p. 191, concerning Cervantes' Novela ejemplar, El licenciado vidriera.

105. Comedias escogidas, p. 263c, Act III.

Carlos eventually gets his hearing, and his just reward; and his "madness" does not outlive its usefulness.

In the play El parecido en la corte, the wily gracioso Tacón pretends that his master is suffering from loss of memory, the last lingering effect of a near-fatal attack of melancholy, to ensure for himself and his master a secure home and excellent financial prospects.

(106) Because Fernando is posing as a long-lost son, his loss of memory is essential, as it makes up for natural deficiencies on Fernando's part. Similarly, while the masquerade continues, so must his illness. Complications quickly arise when Fernando falls in love with his "sister", but his inevitably queer-seeming behaviour is accounted for by the clever Tacón, who labels his frustrated love as moon madness, and advises the anxious Don Pedro; 'señor, el humor le lleva,/ o nos hará aquí pedazos'.<sup>107</sup> Eventually, however, the machinations of the plot - the return of the real son, followed by confessions, forgiveness, and happy marriage - intervene, and the feigned melancholy is cast aside along with the other dissembling.

The bogus madman also occurs in a group of plays by Lope de Vega, which have in common the symptoms evinced by the wily "madman", and the attempts at a cure which are made by his sympathetic friends and relatives.

The Prince, protagonist of a play entitled El Príncipe melancólico, provides a good example of this type of feigned melancholy madness. Upon hearing from his beloved Rosilena that she prefers

106. See pp. 130-131 of this study for a previous mention of this play.

107. Comedias escogidas, p. 321b, Act II.

the attentions of his brother, the Prince determines, as he cannot win her love by fair means, to win it by foul. He pretends that he has gone insane, and gets his servant, Fabio, to report on his progress. Fabio's description to the King of the Prince's state describes the sorrow, alternating fury and quiet, suspicions and delusions typical of the melancholy madman:

a ratos vocea y grita,  
y otros está sosegado,  
diciendo que está cargado  
de una pena infinita.  
Dice que tú lo causaste,  
por sólo querer que muera,  
cuando la sentencia fiera  
en su daño pronunciaste.  
Y cuando está en más sosiego,  
como que se está abrasando,  
le verás, mil voces dando,  
hablar con el recio fuego... 108

The symptom which the Prince seems to favour, presumably because it only involves talking, is that of the delusions typical of the madman. After shouting at the non-existent fire, he pretends to be deluded into believing that he has two heads:

Fabio: Pues si le vieses quejarse  
al cielo de sus cruezas,  
porque le dió dos cabezas,  
y de aquesto querellarse  
te moviera a compasión (p. 344b, Act II).

The conde, who purports to be the sensible man of the piece, tries to cure his madness by humouring him. He gives the Prince a hat, telling him to put it on; and then hands him another one, expecting to confound the Prince. His patient instead accuses him of stealing one of his heads, and then turns to another delusion, which

108. RAE, Obras, vol I, p. 344a, Act II. Later references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

the conde again tries to foil. Eventually, the exhausted Prince asks to be taken away:

Custodio...  
llévame a la sepultura.  
Vamos, que de hambre me caiga. (p. 347b, Act II)

The conde voices his opinion of the cause of the Prince's madness:

ella es gran melancolía,  
que el corazón le resfría,  
y el pecho todo le llena. (p. 347b, Act II)

The Prince's feigned delusion that he is dead, and therefore cannot eat, is a popular one. An account of it occurs in a treatise on melancholic diseases, written by the sixteenth century French doctor, Du Laurens, or Laurentius, which is so similar to the one in El Príncipe melancólico that the latter may almost serve as a translation for the former:

Fabio: No come bocado  
el príncipe mi señor,  
que dice que muerto está  
cuando le doy de comer  
y que no lo ha menester. (p. 348a, Act II)

(There have been seen very melancholike persons, which did think themselves dead, and would not eat anything: the Phisitions have used this sleight to make them eat. They caused one or other servant to lie neere unto the sicke partie, and having taught him to counterfeit himself dead, yet not to forsake his meat, but to eat and swallow it, when it was put into his mouth: and thus by this crafty device, they perswaded the melancholike man, that the dead did eat as well as those which are alive.) 109

Conde: Que salgan...dos muertos  
a pedirle de comer,  
porque le podrán mover  
con aquestos desconciertos  
diciendo que acá se vienen  
a pedir que algo les dé,  
y la ocasión es porque  
grandísima hambre tienen.

109. Du Laurens, p. 102; see also p. 37 of this study.



Fingiendo que allá también  
comen los que están allá...  
Que en ver los muertos comer  
podrá ser que le dé gana  
de comer. (p. 349a, Act II)

Lope's comedy entitled El mármol de Felisardo recounts another example of this same idea of feigning melancholy madness in order to bring about a successful outcome to a love affair. The plot of this play is like that of Tirso's El melancólico, in that, on being declared immediate heir to the throne, Felisardo's betrothal to his beloved Elisa is no longer permissible. The king, wishing the future queen to be of more noble blood, claps Elisa into jail, and recommends his son to choose a more fitting wife. Tristán, servant and confidant to Felisardo, suggests a plan of action to his master which owes much to the story of Pygmalion, as well as to the history of melancholy illness. Telling his master to pretend to fall in love with a marble statue that stands in the garden, he urges,

... a esta sirve, adora, estima,  
dí que es la cosa más bella  
que tu pensamiento anima;  
hasta que finjas tal  
de mortal melancolía  
que vengas a estar mortal. 110

Felisardo complies with this brilliant suggestion, and puts on a convincing show, evincing symptoms of pallor, lowered eyes, and silence, interspersed with furious fits. The courtiers suggest cures in vain:

Aurelio: señor, remedio procura;  
contra la melancolía,  
la música es gran remedio (p. 384a, Act III),

while the king tries to reach his son;

110. BAE, Obras, vol 30, p. 383b, Act II. Later references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

Hablad, hijo de mis ojos,  
que a todos nos maravillas,  
de ver con cuántos enojos  
la vista a la tierra humilla;  
alza los ojos del suelo. (p. 384b, Act III)

In an attempt to divert Felisardo, two beautiful women are brought on to the scene:

Aurelio: Habla.

Rey: ¿Qué espero?

Aun no mueve la cabeza. (p. 389a-b, Act III)

No progress, however, is made until "doctor" Tristán arrives on the scene and makes his diagnosis. He then emphasises the efficacy of humouring the patient, with two traditional stories of madmen:

De un loco las historias nos refieren,  
que dijo que era gallo y que cantaba,  
tema en que muchos que la imitan mueren;  
y como nadie crédito le daba,  
el hombre perecía en mal tan fiero  
hasta que un hombre que en lo cierto estaba  
dijo que era verdad, y a un gallinero  
llevó a este loco y le dejó encerrado,  
donde el sentido le volvió primero,  
porque después de haber dos días cantado,  
salió de las gallinas sucio y feo,  
muerto de hambre y de su tema honrado. (p. 398b, III)  
Otro loco, ¿no dijo que tenía  
un cascabel metido en la cabeza,  
y se daba a entender que le tañía,  
hasta que de un barbero la agudeza,  
haciéndole una herida, en sangre envuelto  
le sacó el cascabel? 111

Tristán now has his audience in the palm of his hand; the courtiers agree that

satisfaciendo un loco su deseo,  
no dudes de que templa su porfía, (p. 398b, Act III)

111. P. 399a, Act III. Also see Galen, Opera, vol 8, p. 190, where the story of the cock is mentioned. This story recurs, for example in Du Laurens, ch 7; Murillo y Velarde, Aprobación de ingenios, f. 65. Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p. 43, mentions another "surgical operation" where a man's nose, which was fancied to be too long, was ostensibly cut down to size.

and they set about humouring Felisardo, by letting him marry his statue. The statue is replaced by a motionless Elisa, and the trick is complete.

A similar stunt is pulled in the comedy Lo que pasa en una tarde, where Blanca is engaged to one man, but in love with another. This time, it is the marriage service that is supposed to be bogus, rather than the bride. Blanca pretends to have eaten some strange herbs which have caused her to have a fit; and her brother, who is in the plot, suggests a cure to his father:

Marcelo: Pues tú, ¿por qué no remedias  
ese desatino?  
Gerardo: ¿Yo?  
Marcelo: Sí, señor.  
Gerardo: ¿De qué manera?  
Marcelo: Haciendo que como en burlas  
don Juan se case con ella;  
que en dándole gusto a un loco  
luego al punto se sosiega,  
y mientras no se le dan 112  
se mata y se desespera.

Even that paragon of knighthood, Don Juan de Castro, in the first part of Lope's play of the same name, is not above indulging in deceit when his love is frustrated. This perfect knight wins the hand of an English princess by his victory at the jousts; only to be told by the king that his marriage must wait. Don Juan's servant, Roberto, suggests that his master, in order to speed up the proceedings a little, should pretend to fall into a melancholy. Don Juan agrees immediately to this idea, which is obviously not incompatible with his image as the perfect Christian knight. He pretends to have visions of fire, and then prostrates himself on his bed. The deception brings instant

and desirable results: the method has been distilled into a fine art. 113

Fedra, of the play Los locos de Valencia, provides us with a test case of feigned madness due to frustrated love, against the back-drop of one of Spain's two most celebrated lunatic asylums. The young Floriano takes refuge in the Valencia asylum, thinking that he has killed the heir to the throne and is therefore a hunted man. His feigned madness is attributed to a combination of too much study and an unhappy love affair, and is more or less dismissed by the authorities. They become much more worried, however, when Fedra, niece to the keeper, having fallen in love with Floriano, feigns madness from love of him so as not to be taken away from the asylum. Fedra's uncle discusses the case in great detail with a doctor, who describes the unhappy girl's symptoms of atrophy, pallor, coldness in the stomach and fever in the brain, fury and frenzy. Verino gives a learned discussion on the exact nature of the melancholy:

Un poco la sentí de calentura;  
viene también de humores melancólicos;  
aqueste mal se llama catalépsis,  
con el furor y frenesí partícipe;  
aunque más propiamente los antiguos  
llamaron este mal de vuestra Fedra  
Erótes, que es un género de tristes  
que sólo del amor están enfermos.  
El frenesí conturaba los sentidos,  
levanta en ellos furia y fiera cólera,  
hácese cuando acaso el que le tiene  
percibe dentro en sí vanas imágenes. 114

Verino's advice as to the cure of this disease includes giving the patient hot vinegar or bread to smell; bathing the limbs, giving her wine to drink, and diverting her thoughts with entertainment.

113. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 30, p. 127b, Act III.

114. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol 1, p. 128c, Act III.

His primary remedy, however, is that of humouring the patient by telling her exactly what she wants to hear:

entretienella  
con decir que muy presto haréis las bodas  
pues esta fué la tema de su furia;  
porque sabed que la mujer al hombre,  
como la forma a la materia quiere. (p. 128c, Act III)  
... si os parece, aquesta misma tarde  
se finja el desposorio con el loco;  
que por dicha la fuerza deste gusto  
la volverá como primero estaba. (p. 128c, Act III).

The only drawback to the success of this ploy is the same as in El príncipe melancólico: the love of the person who is feigning madness is not reciprocated, and the plot takes a different turn.

So far in this chapter the various types of melancholy and its various stages have been examined. The salient point which emerges from this study is that, whatever the causes given as an excuse by the affected person, and however feigned or genuine the attack of melancholy, the great majority of cases of melancholy really arise as a result of obstacles and frustrations placed in the path of true love. The melancholy is both the outcome of the frustrated love, and the means to overcome the difficulties placed in the way of the hero or the heroine of the piece.

Love melancholy is of particular use to the drama as it can provide a convincing front for the sufferer behind which to work. Its typical symptoms of silence and secretiveness give rise to intrigue, confusion and irony: the very stuff of which the best plays are made. Thus, whereas in some cases melancholy is presented simply as an illness which must be cured, in others, and especially in the hands of Tirso, Calderón and Lope, it becomes a dramatic device,

a means through which the characters can manipulate the plot and assure a satisfactory outcome for themselves.

### III. THE SPOOFING OF MELANCHOLY

In the final section of this chapter I would like to give a few examples of a completely light-hearted treatment of the subject of melancholy. Judging by its appearance in some popular entremeses, the melancholy illness seemed to be incorporated into the common jargon of the day. The great entremés writer, Luis Quiñones de Benavente, who has been described as being 'local and temporary in his appeal', wrote a farce called El doctor y el enfermo.<sup>115</sup> The plot is very simple: Crispín, a young man in love with a doctor's daughter, gains access to the young woman by dint of pretending to be a rich criollo who is going to the doctor to be cured. The farce lies in the way Don Crispín, the patient/lover, clutches himself and, complaining about the most terrible pains, falls into his girlfriend's arms. His illness is humorous indeed:

Doctor: Diga vuesa merced, ¿qué es lo que siente?  
Crispín: Un infierno, un volcán, un accidente  
          que me constriñe adulto y melancólico...  
          Como digo, señor, la requemada  
          sangre, con flemas grandes congelada...  
          ¡Ay, que me acude el mal a aqueste lado! (p. 60)

In the anonymous Entremés de Juan Rana Comilón which, although it was not published until 1700, would appear to have been performed much earlier, the patient becomes the butt of a doctor's humour.<sup>116</sup>

115. Ten Spanish Farces of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, edited by George Tyler Northing (Chicago 1922), p. xxvi.

116. Ten Spanish Farces.

This play argues a popular knowledge of some of the terminology and many of the symptoms of the melancholic disease. In the play, Juan Rana's wife is preparing a feast which her friend the doctor wants to share. As Rana's appetite would not leave enough food for the doctor, the latter thinks up a ruse whereby Juan will not want to eat. Rana's wife and the doctor pretend that he is suffering from a bad attack of melancholy; and they gaze, horror-struck, at Rana's countenance, pretending that it has the pallor of the melancholic, and that Rana is suffering from melancholic delusions when he sees the table piled high with meats and pies:

Hombre: ¡Jesús, amigo! ¿Qué color es esa?  
Rana: ¿Cual color?  
Hombre: La del paño pardo oscuro,  
que estáis muy malo en ella conjeturo  
... y con melancolía. (p. 82)

Rana, with his uncomprehending behaviour, provides most of the humour:

Doctor: La hipocondría se ve en la cara.  
Rana: Ya no suelo lavarme cada día,  
y de aquesto será la porquería. (p. 83)

Rana's confusion mounts as he sees people coming in with trays laden with food, but the wily doctor turns this to good account:

es manía, que un antojo,  
que imagináis que veis alguna cosa  
y no la véis; que es sombra mentirosa. (p. 85)

Rana eventually finds the situation overwhelming, beats the doctor and finds him real, and explains to the astonished neighbours that the noise comes from 'saber más que Galeno' (p. 89).

This same familiarity with the melancholic disease is reflected in the comedia. Romero, the gracioso of Tirso's play Amor y celos hacen discretos talks of his poverty to his master in terms of an

illness:

... no tienes  
parte en mis enfermedades  
pues son de melancolías,  
mala condición, y humor,  
tanto que dijo un doctor  
hoy que eran hipocondrias. 117

Melancholy is also spoofed by the graciosos as the disease of  
the intelligentsia or of the malcontent type:

Churriego: Hay tontos...  
que fingen de noche y día  
profunda melancolía,  
sólo por hacerse graves. 118

Another gracioso, Beltrán, of Lope's play El acero de Madrid, poses  
as a doctor, and is unruffled when another wily servant, Salucio,  
tries to trip him up:

Salucio: Siento aquestos días,  
después que en Madrid estoy,  
un descontento, que doy  
en grandes melancolías.  
Nada me parece bien;  
todos me son importunos.  
Beltrán: ¿Tenéis dinero?  
Salucio: Ningunos.  
Beltrán: Pues procurad que os los den,  
vos sois hombre mal contento  
y aun algo murmurador.  
Salucio: (Ap) Este, ¿es demonio o doctor? 119

Indeed, the disease seems to have become positively vulgar.  
One of Calderón's graciosos, Polidoro, is pretending to be a Prince;  
and while he is languishing in prison, one of his jailors mistakenly  
tries to sympathise with him:

117. Tirso de Molina, Obras, vol I, p. 1548a, Act II.

118. Moreto, En el mayor imposible nadie pierde la esperanza, Come-  
dias escogidas, p. 630a, Act II.

119. Lope de Vega, BAE, Obras, vol I, p. 372c, Act II. Also see the  
chapter on the Malcontent, in Babb, The Elizabethan Malady.



Soldado 1<sup>o</sup>: Grande es tu melancolía.

Polidoro: ¿Melancolía decís,  
bergantonazo? Mentís.

Soldado 1º: Pues, ¿qué es esto?

Polidoro: Hipocondría,  
que un príncipe como yo  
no había de adolecer  
vulgarmente, ni tener  
mal que tiene un sastre. 120

Polidoro feels that melancolía has been vulgarised too much to be a fitting ailment for a Prince, and prefers to be seen suffering from hipocondría, which is the medical term for a certain type of melancholy. Melancholy, however, has a long and popular term to run before it is debased like this; and, meanwhile, the spoofing of melancholia by some Golden Age Spanish writers give us an indication of its immense popularity as a subject.

120. Calderón, El mayor monstruo del mundo, Obras, vol 1, p. 263a, Act II.

## CHAPTER SIX: DON QUIJOTE; MELANCHOLY KNIGHT

In the previous chapter of this study, I gave some selected examples, taken from Spanish Golden Age literature, of people who went mad as a result of frustrated love. I also explained how madness could be caused by other factors; such as the eating of poisoned food, as in the case of the unfortunate Tomás Rodaja of Cervantes' El licenciado Vidriera.<sup>1</sup> This present chapter is concerned with the case of

1. The subject of El licenciado Vidriera in relation to melancholy madness has been studied by many critics, and I have nothing new to contribute to the discussion. See E.C. Riley, 'Cervantes and the Cynics (El licenciado Vidriera and El coloquio de los perros)', BHS, 53 (1976), pp. 189-199; Frank P. Casa, 'The Structural Unity of El licenciado Vidriera', BHS, 41 (1964), pp. 242-46; Otis H. Green, 'El licenciado Vidriera: Its relation to the Viaje del Parnaso and the Examen de Ingenios of Huarte', The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Lexington 1970), pp. 185-192; D.L. Heiple, Cervantes' Wise Fool: A study of Wisdom and Fortune in El licenciado Vidriera, unpublished dissertation (University of Texas 1977); Ruth El Saffar, Novel to Romance: a study of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares, (Baltimore and London 1974), pp. 50-61; Mauricio de Iriarte, El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su Examen de ingenios. Contribución a la historia de la psicología diferencial (Madrid 1948), ch. 7; Rafael Sallillas, Un gran inspirador de Cervantes. El doctor Juan Huarte y su Examen de ingenios (Madrid 1905). Taken together, these studies cover the main points, which are as follows. Tomás' temperament, as evinced in his intelligence and scholarship, is inclined towards melancholy; but his madness is caused by the administration of a potion rather than study. The delusion that he is made of glass, which is the form his madness takes, stems from accounts in Galen (Opera, vol VIII, p. 190); and Aetius, (in Galen, Opera, vol XIX, p. 704), and is discussed in Babb, The Elizabethan Malady, p. 43. Professor Riley points to Rodaja's role as a melancholy cynic. Cervantes' debt to Huarte's Examen de ingenios is two-fold. He takes from the Examen the details of the three faculties of memory, understanding and imagination; although, as Heiple (p. 154) notes, he follows the general idea without paying attention to the details. Huarte explains that, because the faculty of understanding demands a preponderance of the quality of dryness in order to function at its best, while that of memory calls for moisture, 'se infiere claramente que el entendimiento y la memoria son potencias opuestas y contrarias; de tal manera, que el hombre que tiene gran memoria ha de ser falto de entendimiento, y el que tuviese mucho entendimiento no puede tener buena memoria; porque el cerebro es imposible ser juntamente seco y húmido a predominio' (p. 143). Cervantes' Tomás, on the other hand, 'tenía tan felice memoria, que era cosa de espanto; e ilustrábala tanto con su buen entendimiento, que no era menos famoso por él que por ella' (El licenciado Vidriera, pp. 11-12). There is a story told by Huarte in the Examen which bears

a man who went mad as a result of reading chivalresque romances.<sup>2</sup>

The character of don Quijote has already been examined in the light of his temperament, although the subject has by no means been exhausted.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I shall be trying to ascertain don

(1 cont.) a certain resemblance (noted, for example, by Casa, p. 243) to Cervantes' novela ejemplar. A humble page becomes insane, and is immediately attended to by everyone because of his great but deluded sayings; 'caído en la enfermedad, eran tantas las gracias que decía, los apodos, las respuestas que daba a lo que le preguntaban,... que por maravilla le venían gentes a ver y oír' (pp. 119-120). The page is cured, and is miserable at being restored to his former lowly position. Huarte's story, although it bears a superficial resemblance to the fate of the licenciado, differs in its basic premise that madness changes one's mental make-up; 'si el hombre cae en alguna enfermedad por la cual el cerebro de repente muda su temperatura - como es la manía, melancolía y frenesía - en un momento acontece perder, si es prudente, cuanto sabe, y dice mil disparates; y si es necio, adquiere más ingenio y habilidad que antes tenía' (p. 118).

2. For my study of Don Quijote de la Mancha I have used Martín de Riquer's edition (Barcelona 1968). Further references to the novel are given after quotations in the text.

3. See Rafael Salillas, Un gran inspirador de Cervantes; Mauricio de Iriarte, El doctor Huarte de San Juan, ch. 7; Otis H. Green, 'El ingenioso hidalgo', in The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain, p. 171ff.; Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, Don Quijote como forma de vida (Valencia 1976), ch IV, entitled 'La locura de vivir'; Anthony Close, 'Don Quijote's sophistry and wisdom', BHS, 55 (1978), pp. 103-114; Peter N. Dunn, 'La cueva de Montesinos por fuera y por dentro; estructura épica, fisonomía', MLN, 88 (1973), pp. 190-202. I have been unable to consult the writings of J. Goyanes, a doctor of medicine, which are of probable relevance to my subject. The two pieces of writing concerned are 'Los tipos biológicos de Don Quijote y Sancho', in La Opinión (Ciudad Trujillo, Rep. Dom., 15 April 1939); and Tipología del Quijote. Ensayo sobre la estructura psicosomática de los personajes de la novela (Madrid 1932). Iriarte devotes a section of his book to the character of don Quijote, where he compares Huarte's description of the man of hot, dry temperament with Cervantes' description of don Quijote's appearance, and concludes that Cervantes meant the hidalgo to be of a hot, dry complexion and, as such, 'inteligente, imaginativo, melancólico y colérico' (p. 321). Avalle-Arce, whose work came to my notice after the time of writing, also points out that don Quijote's madness lies in a lesion of the imagination. He defines don Quijote as a choleric type, basing his argument on the description in the Corbacho of that type (see p. 215 of my study), and backing it up with detailed and excellent examples drawn from the Quijote. He also points out that dryness of temperament makes for madness, and moisture for some measure of sanity. Green sees Alonso

Quijote's temperament by means of a thorough examination of his appearance, habits, characteristics and moods as they appear during the course of the novel. I shall also be showing how this temperament undergoes subtle physiological changes as the story progresses. By this means, I shall hope to discover an underlying pattern in don Quijote's character which will account fairly comprehensively for his behaviour, and will reveal a consistency of character which survives the onset of madness and the restoration of sanity. For the sake of clarity, I shall divide the following study into four main sections, which represent the four main stages of don Quijote's illness, as it is portrayed by Cervantes in the novel. First, we shall be discussing the cause of Alonso Quijano's madness (Part I, ch i). The next, and longest section will deal with don Quijote as he appears during most of the book, with a view to justifying my classification of him as a melancholy madman. This section will be divided into various categories which describe his appearance, habits, temperament and general characteristics, and his moods and reactions to people and situations (Parts I - II). The third section will describe the change which I see occurring in don Quijote's character from the beginning of Part II, and will provide what I hope is a satisfactory physiological explanation for this change; while the fourth and final

(3 cont.) Quijano as a choleric or sanguine man who suffers hypertrophy of the imagination and becomes choleric adust. The choleric passions reign until the end of Part II of Don Quijote, when the knight is restored to sanity by the combined effects of an attack of melancholy, an acute fever, and prolonged sleep. Green has equated choler adust with choler, rather than melancholy. This argues a drastic temperamental change from choleric to melancholic, without taking into account the fact that a predominance of heat and dryness in the body can be indicative of a certain type of melancholy. My reading of don Quijote's character, as described in this chapter, shows an inevitable progression from hot melancholy to cold melancholy.

section will be concerned with don Quijote's return to sanity and death by melancholy (Part II, ch lxxiv).

In order to substantiate my arguments, I shall be drawing on some of the more influential authorities which were read in Cervantes' day.<sup>4</sup> I am fairly satisfied that, even if Cervantes did not read the works of the Spanish Huarte de San Juan or the Arcipreste de Talavera, the Dutch Levinus Lemnius or the English Burton, he would be as familiar as they with the common physiology which prevailed and from which they all drew their ideas.

I would like, finally, to state that, by trying to explain the reasons for don Quijote's behaviour in the light of contemporary physiological theories, I am not wanting to belittle him, but, on the contrary, to enrich his character by enabling the reader to view him with some of the same basic assumptions as Cervantes' contemporaries. I rest assured, however, that the character of our knight is too great to be contained in any one mould.

#### THE NATURE OF DON QUIJOTE'S MADNESS

In trying to ascertain the nature of don Quijote's madness, we come back to the problem of the confusion between the choleric and melancholic humorous types, which arose from the assertion of experts that a melancholic disease could be hot and dry in nature. Basically, of course, the hot and dry complexion is termed choleric, while the melancholy complexion is cold and dry. However, it is important to remember that the term "melancholy" applies not only to the natural

4. See chapter 3 of this study.

cold, dry complexion, but also to the unnatural adustion of any one of the four humours, which gave rise to extreme characteristics of the humour in question. These various adust humours could, if not treated, cause severe physical and mental illness, and, for the sake of a convenience which has led to much confusion, were all termed "melancholy". Many writers, therefore, have distinguished at least two types of melancholy; one hot, or unnatural; the other cold, or natural. Burton, quoting Montaltus from the latter's De Causis Melancholiae, explains that he 'will have the efficient cause of Melancholy to be hot and dry, not a cold and dry distemperature, as some hold'. He adds that, in his own opinion, 'this may be true in non-natural melancholy, which produceth madness, but not in that natural, which is more cold'.<sup>5</sup> Lemnius, on the other hand, divides the hot and dry temperament into two categories; the first type being that of natural choler, which is bitter and fiery, and the second being a black substance produced when the liver overheats, and which would be termed unnatural melancholy.<sup>6</sup> Don Quijote's temperament was of this last type.

At the beginning of Don Quijote, Cervantes introduces us to a gentleman who is middle-aged, scrawny in appearance, and fond of the active life: 'frisaba la edad de nuestro hidalgo con los cincuenta años; era de complexión recia, seco de carnes, enjuto de rostro, gran madrugador y amigo de la caza' (I, ch i, p. 36). The fact that

5. The Anatomy of Melancholy, vol I, p. 434.

6. A Touchstone of Complexions, p. 204. According to Lemnius, the worst type of unnatural melancholy was that made by choler adust. The humour becomes as black as pitch, and the sufferer's mind becomes subject to 'furious fits, frantic rages... brainsick madness' (p. 234).



he is no longer in the first flush of youth, coupled with the dry nature of his appearance and the energetic life he leads, point to a choleric temperament. This in itself would not be conducive to insanity, or even be at all noticeable, for, far from being constantly irascible, 'verdaderamente, como alguna vez se ha dicho, en tanto que don Quijote fue Alonso Quijano el Bueno, a secas, y en tanto que fue don Quijote de la Mancha, fue siempre de apacible condición y de agradable trato' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1065); were it not for the excessive reading habits which Alonso Quijano adopted. This constant reading of chivalresque novels led to an abuse of the good habits so essential to the maintenance of sound health. The hidalgo's active life was replaced by a sedentary one, his eating habits were probably impaired, and his sleep certainly was: 'él se enfrascó tanto en su lectura, que se le pasaban las noches leyendo de claro en claro, y los días de turbio en turbio; y así, del poco dormir y del mucho leer se le secó el cerebro, de manera que vino a perder el juicio' (I, ch. i, p. 37).<sup>7</sup>

This sudden change from physical to excessive mental activity, coupled with the loss of sleep's moistening properties, would lead to an unnatural drying up of the body's moisture, especially in the region of the brain, and the choleric humour would burn up or putrefy. Using the popular analogy of the liver as kitchen, and the humours as ingredients, one could picture the yellow bile bubbling away on the stove faster and faster until, with the loss of all its water, it burns, turns black, sends up thick vapours, and sticks to the bottom

7. Lemnius, p. 120, notes that students are particularly prone to melancholy, 'for by wearying themselves with late watching, and sitting at their study till farre in the night, their Animal spirits through too much intention be resolved, and their native humidity dried up'.

of the pan.<sup>8</sup> Or, as Burton sees it: the humour turns sour as it putrefies, for 'phlegm degenerates into choler, choler adust becomes aeruginosa melancholia, as vinegar out of purest wine putrefied, or by exhalation of purer spirits, is so made, and becomes sour and sharp'.<sup>9</sup>

However, whatever the goings-on in Alonso Quijano's liver, it is clear that sudden temperamental dryness is followed by madness, for 'del poco dormir y del mucho leer se le secó el cerebro, de manera que vino a perder el juicio'. This adustion of yellow bile would classify Alonso Quijano as a man of hot and dry temperament and melancholic complexion: the melancholy being of an unnatural type, formed of choler adust. More simply, he would be called mad.

Finally, following certain statements which Cervantes makes about the state of don Quijote's mind, it would appear to be his imagination which is impaired, rather than the other two faculties of memory and understanding.<sup>10</sup> Both the latter are in excellent working order, for

8. In La Materia Médica de Dioscorides, edited by César E. Dubler, vol I, p. 64, the editor describes Luis Lobera de Ávila's Libro de anatomía, and gives the following summary of the author's description of the centre part of the body: 'en la segunda bóveda, está el corazón, cuyo criado es el calor natural. Esta bóveda está separada de la inferior (la cocina, de la cual el estómago es el caldero) por el diafragma, que intercepta la subida del humo. En la cocina hay cuatro mayordomos, que son los cuatro humores'.

9. The Anatomy of Melancholy, vol I, p. 198.

10. Otis Green, 'El ingenioso hidalgo', p. 172; Avalle-Arce, p. 103, and Iriarte, p. 317, following examples given by Huarte in his Examen of Democritus and Saul of Tarsus, conclude that don Quijote suffers from a lesion of the imaginative faculty. Heiple (p. 23) is not of this opinion, and backs his argument with a quotation from Don Quijote: 'don Quijote suffers a drying out of the brain and comes to lose his judging faculty. Perder el juicio is a colloquial expression, but juicio is also one of the terms used for the middle ventricle, and it is probable that Cervantes meant to indicate with this expression that don Quijote had lost his reason but still had a functioning imagination and memory. When he names his horse, he does not use his reason, but relies on the



it seems to Sancho that 'no debía de haber historia en el mundo ni suceso que no tuviera cifrado en la uña y clavado en la memoria' (II, ch. lviii, p. 955); and it is also clear that 'solamente disparaba en tocándole en la caballería y en los demás discursos mostraba tener claro y desenfadado entendimiento' (II, ch. xliii, p. 843). His imagination, on the other hand, plays him false. On reading chivalresque novels,

llenósele la fantasía de todo aquello que leía en los libros, así de encantamientos como de pependencias, batallas, desafíos, heridas, requiebros, amores, tormentas y disparates imposibles; y asentósele en la imaginación que era verdad toda aquella máquina de aquellas sonadas soñadas invenciones que leía, que para él no había otra historia más cierta en el mundo' (I, ch. i, pp. 37-38).<sup>11</sup>

Burton says of the melancholy type that 'their memories are most part good, they have happy wits, and excellent apprehensions'.<sup>12</sup> According to contemporary physiologists, the property that made for the best working of the imagination was heat.<sup>13</sup> Alonso Quijano had this quality in superabundance, so that his imagination was overactive in relation to the other two faculties, and he lost the power to distinguish between external reality and the products of his fevered imagination.

(10 cont.) two faculties that are still functioning: 'después de muchos nombres que formó, borró y quitó, añadió, deshizo y tornó a hacer en su memoria e imaginación..' (p. 39)'.

11. Also see I, ch. xviii, p. 161, where don Quijote 'tenía a todas horas y momentos llena la fantasía de aquellas batallas, encantamientos, sucesos, desatinos, amores, desafíos, que en los libros de caballerías se cuentan, y todo cuanto hablaba, pensaba o hacía era encaminado a cosas semejantes'; and pp. 163-4, where he is 'llevado de la imaginación de su nunca vista locura'.

12. Vol I, p. 440.

13. Huarte, Examen, p. 143, states that 'siendo la frenesía, manía y melancolía pasiones calientes del cerebro, es grande argumento para probar que la imaginativa consiste en calor.'

## THE MELANCHOLY KNIGHT

### i. Appearance

This section is concerned with the building up of a picture of don Quijote, with a view to justifying my classification of him as a melancholy type. The appearance of this type, according to treatises of the time, differs according to the sort of melancholy which is involved, but, speaking generally, the melancholy man is thin and crooked, hairy, pale, and generally malformed.<sup>14</sup> Don Quijote's appearance, likewise, reflects in its unnatural, deformed state, his unnatural humour.

The popular and much-drawn image of don Quijote as a tall, thin, cadaverous man drooping over his equally tall and bony mount is an accurate one.<sup>15</sup> Don Quijote is not only tall, but each part of his body seems to have been stretched as far as it will go, conveying an image that is unnatural, extreme, and, of course, very funny. Sansón Carrasco, whose sense of fun admittedly leads him to exaggerate somewhat, describes the knight as 'un hombre alto de cuerpo, seco de rostro, estirado y avellanado de miembros, entrecano, la nariz aguilena y algo corva, de bigotes grandes, negros y caídos' (II, ch. xiv, p. 632). Other descriptions of 'su rostro de media legua de andadura' (I, ch. xxxvii, p. 774), his neck, 'con media vara de cuello' (II, ch. xxxii, p. 774), and his legs, 'muy largas y flacas, llenas

14. Burton, vol I, p. 440: 'they be commonly lean, hirsute, uncheerful in countenance, withered, and not so pleasant to behold'.

15. Rocinante, incidentally, shares his master's melancholy intelligence, as well as his hollow appearance; the two of which are linked. In the 'Diálogo entre Babieca y Rocinante' (introductory poems to Don Quijote, p. 34), Babieca remarks 'Metafísica estáis'; to which Rocinante replies, 'Es que no como'. See also I, ch. xliii, p. 449.

de vello' (I, ch. xxxv, p. 364) all help to build up a picture of tallness and thinness.<sup>16</sup> Dryness and yellowish-brown colour are also features of don Quijote's appearance, and these, linked with his tall lankiness, make him look deformed. Altogether, his is 'la más graciosa y extraña figura que se pudiera pensar' (I, ch. ii, p. 46); although don Quijote has a higher opinion than his author of his appearance when he says, 'bien veo que no soy hermoso, pero también conozco que no soy disforme' (II, ch. lviii, p. 957). Sancho, however, is a more critical observer: he sees in his master 'más cosas para espantar que para enamorar' (II, ch. lviii, p. 957); and in the Sierra Morena, is horrified by don Quijote's offer of undressing so that Dulcinea can be told of her knight's sufferings, and exclaims 'Por amor de Dios, señor mío, que no vea en cueros a vuestra merced, que me dará mucha lástima y no podré dejar de llorar' (I, ch. xxv, p. 248).

This general picture of oddity with regard to don Quijote's appearance reflects a physiological departure from normality, and underlines physically the mental madness of the knight. His tallness, hairiness, and his dry and yellowed skin compare closely with the

16. These are some of the descriptions to be found in the pages of the Quijote:

'tan seco y amojamado, que no parecía sino hecho de carmemomia' (II, ch. i, p. 541).

'flaco y amarillo, los ojos hundidos en los últimos camaranchones del cerebro' (II, ch. vii, p. 583).

'seco de rostro', (II, ch. xiv, p. 632).

'tan alto y tan amarillo' (II, ch. xlviii, p. 879).

'largo, tendido, flaco, amarillo', (II, ch. lxii, p. 992).

'más que medianamente moreno' (II, ch. xxxii, p. 774).

'seco, alto, tendido, con las quijadas, que por dentro se besaba la una con la otra', (II, ch. xxxi, p. 764).

prevailing descriptions of the hot and dry melancholic type. Lemnius, who describes the man of adust complexion as being 'thin of body, shrunken in aspect, and yellow as a kite's foot', ascribes this unnatural state to being caused by 'any accidental mis-hap or custome of living, as by want of food, watch, heaviness of mind, or immoderate labour'.<sup>17</sup> This description immediately calls to mind the state don Quijote is in after his Sierra Morena antics: Sancho finds him 'desnudo en camisa, flaco, amarillo y muerto de hambre, y suspirando por su señora Dulcinea' (I, ch. xxix, p. 291).

## ii. Habits

A closer study of don Quijote's habits during the course of the novel reveals how much he is abusing his system by his unnatural way of life, and how this physical abuse only serves to exacerbate his mental condition.

The people of Cervantes' day were much concerned with the correct observance of the six non-natural things, or the 'ayre that encloseth us, meat and drink, exercise and rest, sleep and watch, evacuation and retention, and the affections of the mind'.<sup>18</sup> An examination of don Quijote's habits with reference to the six non-natural things quickly shows us that even a partial cure of the hidalgo's insanity would be difficult.

Fresh air he would have in abundance, because of his errant life, but not of a type conducive to pacific living; for, owing to the hot,

17. Lemnius, p. 110. Huarte, p. 242, describes the adust melancholy type as having 'las carnes pocas, ásperas y llenas de vello'.

18. Lemnius, p. 74. See ch. 1 of this study, pp. 18-31; and ch. 3, pp. 67-71.

dry nature of the Spanish air, the Spaniards as a race were held to be of a hot and rash temperament.<sup>19</sup> Don Quijote's journey took place during the summer, so that there would be no cool, wet conditions to mitigate the excesses of his temperament.

One of the ways in which don Quijote abuses his system most thoroughly is with lack of food. He often forgoes his meals, either by choice or necessity, and this abstinence only exacerbates his condition; for we see him at his most mad when he is starved of meat and drink. In the Sierra Morena, his excessive antics, although feigned and following the example of the melancholy lover Amadís, probably also stem from the fact that he is 'muerto de hambre'. He arrives at the inn after these experiences in a worse physical and mental state than usual: 'venía muy quebrantado y falto de juicio' (I, ch. xxxii, p. 321). Conversely, a good meal seems to alleviate his madness temporarily. After his meal with the shepherds, on the eve of Grisóstomo's funeral, and again at the inn, he waxes so lyrical that 'obligó a que, por entonces, ninguno de los que escuchándole estaban le tuviese por loco' (I, ch. xxxvii, p. 390).

Lack of sleep is another factor which prevents don Quijote's body from fighting its excess of burnt black bile; because, as Huarte explains, vigil dries the brain, while sleep moistens it.<sup>20</sup> Don Quijote, in order to play the knight-errant game to the full, often stays awake at night, as on the eve of his being dubbed knight, or when he is in the middle of an adventure. Later on, when he is

19. Burton, vol I, p. 273, cites Spain as being one of the hot countries where men are 'most troubled by melancholy'. Lemnius, p. 27, describes the Spaniards of being hot of complexion and rash of temperament.

20. Huarte, Examen, p. 142.

staying under the Duke and Duchess's roof, the all-night pranks indulged in by the servants prevent him from getting any sleep at all! Another reason for his wakefulness lies possibly in the difficulty which a melancholic finds in getting to sleep. Don Quijote often passes up an opportunity to get some sleep, and stays awake, while Sancho snores: 'Sancho... pasó aquella (noche) durmiendo, y su amo velando'.<sup>21</sup> Burton explains that 'their hot and dry brains make them they (sic) cannot sleep.'<sup>22</sup> Whether don Quijote's lack of sleep is the result of a deliberate attempt to stay awake, or the result of external disturbance; or whether it stems from genuine insomnia, the drying effect upon his brain is the same.

When don Quijote does sleep, he is, on at least two occasions, troubled by extremely vivid and violent dreams.<sup>23</sup> Physiologists of the day held that one of the causes of dreams was physical; that the dreams you have reflect your temperamental balance. Pedro Ciruelo, in his Reproución de las supersticiones y hechizeries explains that

los sueños vienen a los hombres por tres causas principales: es a saber, por causa natural: por causa moral: y por causa theolocial... La causa natural es por alguna alteración del cuerpo del hombre: que hay tanta concordancia entre el cuerpo y la anima del hombre: que segun es la alteracion del cuerpo: tales phantasias representa el alma. Puede venir nueva alteracion del cuerpo horas hay por causa intrinseca de los humores que se mueven dentro del cuerpo: que si se mueve la colera: sueña el hombre cosas coloradas de fuego o de sangre. Si se mueve la flema: sueña cosas claras de agua, o de bavas. Si la malencolia: sueña cosas negras, oscuras, y cosas tristes de muertos. Etc.<sup>24</sup>

21. II, ch. lxvii, p. 1028. Also see I, ch. i, p. 37; I, ch. xii, p. 115; I, ch. xx, p. 181; and II, ch. lx, p. 972.

22. Vol I, p. 440.

23. See I, ch. vii, pp. 76-77; and I, ch. xxxv, pp. 363-4.

24. Edited and introduced by Alva V. Ebersole, Albatros ediciones hispanófila (Valencia 1978), p. 65; first published in 1550.

Vives, in the chapter on dreams in his Tratado del alma, ascribes violent, fighting dreams to the choleric temperament.<sup>25</sup> Don Quijote's dreams, while they are violent, are also extremely vivid; for example, the dream which gave rise to the messy episode with the wine-skins, and which interrupted the telling of El curioso impertinente:

entró (el ventero) en el aposento, y todos tras él, y hallaron a don quijote en el más extraño traje del mundo. Estaba en camisa, la cual no era tan cumplida, que por delante le acabase de cubrir los muslos, y por detrás tenía seis dedos menos; las piernas eran muy largas y flacas, llenas de vello y no nada limpias; tenía en la cabeza un bonetillo colorado, grasiento, que era del ventero; en el brazo izquierdo tenía revuelto la manta de la cama... y en la derecha, desenvainada la espada, con la cual daba cuchilladas a todas partes, diciendo palabras como si verdaderamente estuviera peleando con algún gigante. Y es lo bueno que no tenía los ojos abiertos, porque estaba durmiendo y soñando que estaba en batalla con el gigante; que fue tan intensa la imaginación de la ventura que iba a fenecer, que le hizo soñar que ya había llegado al reino de Micomición, y que ya estaba en la pelea con su enemigo (I, ch. xxxv, pp. 363-4).

Don Quijote's hot, dry temperament has so overworked his imagination that, asleep, his inner visions become as reality to him. Melancholy men are, indeed, 'affrighted oftentimes with dreams like visions/ presenting to the thoughts ill apparitions'.<sup>26</sup> Burton, likewise, stresses the melancholy type's susceptibility to vivid dreams, explaining that they 'sometimes think verily they hear and see present before their eyes... phantasms and goblins'.<sup>27</sup> He also mentions how 'Laurentius, cap. 7, hath many stories of such as have thought themselves to be bewitched by their enemies'; which is the very stuff

25. In Obras, vol II, Book II, ch. xiv.

26. Regimen, p. 146.

27. Vol I, p. 453.



of don Quijote's dreams. <sup>28</sup>

Don Quijote increases the dryness of his complexion by indulging in immoderate and unsuitable exercise. Rodrigo de Arévalo, who extols the profession of Arms, nevertheless stresses that it must be exercised 'temprada e moderadamente... porque es de saber que, segunt disen los sabios antiguos, los actos de guerra non son en todos los tiempos buenos e loables; ca muchas cosas son buenas e virtuosas, que en algunos tienpos e por algunas circunstancias non se deven facer.' <sup>29</sup> He also neglects the baths, whose moistening properties would have helped to loosen his sticky humours: Cervantes describes his legs, for example, as being 'no nada limpias' (I, ch. xxxv, p. 364). Neither is any effort made, apart from the unfortunate episode with the balsam of Fierebras, to purge his melancholy. The episode of the elixir is, however, very interesting in that it shows - unfortunately for Sancho - the diverse effects which a strong purge can have on two different temperaments. Don Quijote's extreme sickness on taking the purge must have shifted some of the black viscous humour inside him, for this sickness, combined with copious sweating and the benefit of more than three hour's sleep, made for a great improvement in his condition: 'se sintió aliviadísimo del cuerpo y en tal manera mejor de su quebrantamiento, que se tuvo por sano'. <sup>30</sup>

28. Burton, vol I, p. 463. Burton is referring to Du Laurens, A Discourse... The chapter in question consists of a series of anecdotes, culled from various classical sources, about the delusions suffered by melancholy men; although I can see no mention of enchanters being the culprits.

29. Vergel de los príncipes, p. 323a.

30. I, ch. xvii, p. 154. The purge consists of oil, wine, salt, and rosemary. Salt is an emetic; oil a laxative or purgative; wine has warming, moistening, and generally strengthening properties, while



The effects which Fierebras' balsam had on Sancho are, fortunately, irrelevant here.

One of the most popular cures in Cervantes' day for humoral imbalance was that of bleeding, for it was supposed to draw out the bad, putrefied blood only, leaving the healthy blood in the veins. It was not, however, a "cure-all" but had, on the contrary, to be exercised with care and discrimination, especially in the treatment of melancholy which needed the contrary hot, moist properties of blood; for excessive bleeding had a definitely cooling effect. Don Quijote's numerous fights, whether they ended in external bleeding or internal bleeding, in the form of bruises, will have weakened rather than aided his body.

Moderation was above all the watchword with regard to the passions, because excess of feeling of any kind could quickly cause a humoral imbalance. Here again, don Quijote abuses his system often by a display of passionate rage, accompanied by violent action: which display often ends up with him on the ground, battered and bruised. Whether or not he is the victor, however, the hot, dry passionate anger is,

(30, cont.) rosemary, according to Martindale's Extra Pharmacopoeia, 25th edition (London 1967), p. 1546, has 'a pleasant balsamic odour,' and its leaves 'were formerly used for their reputed emmenagogue and diaphoretic properties'. In other words, they cleansed the blood, produced sweating, and generally stimulated the normal functions of the body. Cervantes, had he read Jerónimo Cortes' Phisonomía y varios secretos de naturaleza would have known about these beneficial herbal properties, for Cortes follows the treatise on physiognomy with one on Las excellencias del romero, y su calidad, where (f. 17) he explains that 'el romero de su naturaleza es caliente y seco, aromático, y odífero, y assí conforta y recrea todas las partes y miembros interiores, y exteriores del cuerpo, alegra y fortifica los sentidos, consume las humedades, frialdades, opilaciones, y males contagiosos.' Finalmente, el romero no admite melancolías, tristezas, temblores, ni desmayos del corazón'.

in the eyes of contemporary doctors, enough to do him serious internal damage.<sup>31</sup>

Two main points can be gathered from this discussion of don Quijote's habits. The first is that these habits are neither moderate nor normal; and this immoderateness and abnormality are bound to have an effect on his temperament. This effect is, generally speaking, a drying one; although sometimes it is heating, as with the knight's passionate rages, while at others it is cooling, as with his bleeding or lack of bathing. It is certainly debilitating, especially with regard to the little sleep he gets, and his irregular eating habits. The other point to note is that of the mitigating effects which a change for the better in any one habit causes. If and when the knight sleeps or eats well, especially on the occasion when this is accompanied by a purge, he usually experiences a physical improvement which is reflected in his mental behaviour: in short, he becomes less mad. The changes, however, are neither so drastic nor so frequent as to reverse the general downward trend of his mental and physical health.

### iii. Character and mood

Don Quijote is, first and foremost, a knight-errant. He has, from the time of reading the books of chivalry, made knight-errantry his vocation, and has striven to emulate the heroes of the books to his full capacity. It is, for him, a full-time job. We therefore find that most of his general characteristics reflect, while they parody, those of the knights he is striving to emulate; although he

31. Sabuco, Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre, p. 6, stresses that a person who feels great anger can easily die as a result.

is worthy of character study in his own right. It is also important to bear in mind that, according to the old physiology, as well as modern psychiatry, you are what you feel. A man who is prone to an excess of yellow bile in the body will be prompted more easily than others to feel the passion of anger; the angry passions, in their turn, help the production of yellow bile in the body, so developing a tendency towards choler. It follows, then, that we can take don Quijote's attitudes and temperament to be more or less genuine, in spite of their imitative nature.

The most outstanding feature of don Quijote's character is his devotion to the cause of knight-errantry, together with his conviction, in the teeth of opposition, that he is doing the right and virtuous thing: 'le pareció conveniente y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante' (I, ch. i, p. 38). According to Burton, fanatical persons (along with demoniacal persons, poets, and those people who are mad and sanguine) do not experience the usual melancholic passions of fear and sorrow, although they are classed as melancholy types.<sup>32</sup> He also stresses the distorted sense of values which is so typical of the fanatical melancholy type; they are 'as serious in a toy, as if it were a most necessary business, of great moment'.<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that, according to Huarte de San Juan, singleness of purpose and loyalty to a cause are supposed to stem from a coldness of the brain; for, whereas heat makes for dilettantes, cold,

32. Vol I, p. 442.

33. Vol I, p. 453.

'por comprimir las figuras y no dejarlas levantar, hace al hombre firme en una opinión'.<sup>34</sup> The idée fixe in don Quijote's brain is caused and complemented by the fixed, burnt humours in the body.

In accordance to his devotion to the chivalresque cause, don Quijote is bursting with all the correct knightly traits of courage and a keenness to fight, coupled with tremendous self-confidence, propensity to anger, and a love of justice. These are all hot passions, and were they not so extreme, and don Quijote definitely unhinged, he would be classed as a man of choleric complexion, for

Éstos tales súbito son yrados muy de recio, syn tenpranca alguna; son muy sobervios, fuertes, e de mala conplisyón arrebatada, però dura breve tienpo, però el tienpo que dura son muy perigosos. Éstos aman justicia e non toda vía son buenos para la mandar, mejores para la exsecutar'.

Rashness and unbridled anger, however, are traits shared by the Archpriest's melancholic type; for these men are 'onbres muy yrados, syn tiento nin mesura;... mucho riñosos, e con todos rifadores'.<sup>35</sup> According to Burton, the type of melancholy in any one person is partly determined by the planet which predominates in his nativity; thus, people ruled by Jupiter are ambitious, while those ruled by Mars, although they are melancholy types, 'are all for wars, brave combats, monomachies, testy, choleric, harebrain, rash, furious, and violent in their actions'.<sup>36</sup> This comment sums up don Quijote's character to a nicety, and he himself maintains that 'nací, segun me inclino a las armas, debajo de la influencia del Planeta Marte' (II, ch. vi, p.

34. Huarte, Examen, p. 138.

35. Corbacho, pp. 182-83.

36. Burton, vol I, p. 457.

581).

The most obvious trait, apart from his madness, in don Quijote's make-up is his rash courage, his "tilting at windmills" which is characterised by a tremendous amount of bragging and self-confidence, as befits his unnatural humour: '¿has visto más valeroso caballero que yo en todo lo descubierta de la tierra?' (I, ch. ix, p. 98); 'yo valgo por ciento' (I, ch. xv, p. 136), he asserts - and, indeed, he seems to, as he launches whole-heartedly into each new adventure that comes his way. According to Lemnius, one man of hot temperament 'is said (being alone) to have put to flight whole bands of men'.<sup>37</sup> This fighting strength is fed by his anger, which in turn is aroused by any aspersion cast on his profession, turning him from a peaceable, virtuous man well-versed in the niceties of chivalrous behaviour into a furious, indiscriminating maniac:

con mucho sosiego le respondió: (don Quijote to the vizcaíno)  
'Si fueras caballero, como no lo eres, ya yo hubiera castigado tu sandez y atrevimiento, cautiva criatura.'

A lo cual replicó el vizcaíno:

'Yo no caballero? Juro a Dios tan mientes como cristiano. Si lanza arrojas y espada sacas, ¡el agua cuán presto verás que al gato llevas! Vizcaíno por tierra, hidalgo por mar, hidalgo por el diablo, y mientes que mira si otra dices cosa.'

'Ahora lo veredes, dijo Agraes' respondió don Quijote.

Y arrojando la lanza en el suelo, sacó su espada y embrazó su rodela, y arremetió al vizcaíno, con determinación de quitarle la vida. (I, ch. viii, pp. 87-88)

Don Quijote's extreme hot-temperedness makes the Arcipreste's remarks on justice particularly apt: while the knight is devoting his life to righting wrongs and doing no harm, for 'mis intenciones siempre las enderezo a buenos fines, que son de hacer bien a todos y mal a ninguno' (II, ch. xxxii, p. 770), the results of his acts of

37. Lemnius, p. 69.

justice are sometimes unhappy, as when he interrupts a beating administered to the boy Andrés by his master. The results of this intervention are so unfortunate that Andrés, on meeting don Quijote again, begs him never again to interfere.

An important part of don Quijote's knight-errant "image" is his love for and devotion to the lady Dulcinea. This blatant transformation of a plain, squat village girl into a beautiful and desirable maiden is another example of don Quijote's mad perversion of reality, to which he admits, once; 'píntola en mi imaginación como la deseo' (I, ch. xxv, p. 246). As a knight-errant, who swears eternal devotion to his lady, he enters whole-heartedly into the spirit of the courtly lover whose adoration is unrequited, deciding at one point to spend time by himself in the Sierra Morena, where he can emulate the melancholy lover Amadís by indulging in extremes of passion and madness; all in the name of Dulcinea. It is the genuine lover's lot, if his love be unrequited, to fall into a melancholy state, partly from sexual frustration and putrefaction of the sperm, and partly by self-neglect; 'to be squalid, ugly, miserable, solitary, discontent, dejected, to wish for death, to complain, rave, and to be peevish, are the certain signs, and ordinary actions of a love-sick person'.<sup>38</sup>

Not for a moment do I suppose that don Quijote could fall into a genuine love-melancholy over a woman he has almost totally invented; on the contrary, one gets the impression that he thoroughly enjoys himself carving up the trees in the Sierra Morena and languishing in a half-naked, half-starved state. However, he is at the same time ab-

38. Burton, vol 3, p. 173.

busing his system, as I explained above, and, by weakening it, laying it open to cold, dry, melancholy disorders. People are not commonly held to die of love, but they certainly can die of exposure and starvation. It is only don Quijote's fevered brain that keeps him so active; and this is ironical, because it is the same madness that leads him to indulge in a way of life which is so harmful to his health.

One aspect of don Quijote's personality which is outside his chivalric preoccupations and which shines throughout the novel through the black torpidity of his madness, is his high level of intelligence. This intelligence is noticed by many people during the course of the story, and encompasses various different types of intelligence: wisdom, practical ability, and the ability to grasp concepts and to conduct a conversation to which it is well worth listening. The effect which don Quijote has on his listeners is to make them amazed, and often sorry, that such an intelligent mind should be clouded by madness. Their reaction would probably depend on what was preoccupying don Quijote at the time, for 'solamente disparaba en tocándole en la caballería, y en los demás discursos mostraba tener claro y desenfadado entendimiento' (II, ch. xliii, p. 843).

Don Quijote's eloquence and Ciceronian skill would appear to stem from the hot temperature of his brain. Huarte, in his Examen de ingenios, describes how he has met peasants who suddenly become eloquent through illness, or poetic through the hot disease of frenzy. He concludes that oratory 'es una ciencia que nace de cierto punto de calor', and that, in the event of such illness, the patient is better left uncured.<sup>39</sup> In extreme cases, the person in question can become

39. P. 118.



clairvoyant; 'confiesa claramente Aristóteles que por calentarse demasiadamente el cerebro vienen muchos hombres a conocer lo que está por venir': but I do not think that this applies to don Quijote's visions in Montesinos' cave, although these are obviously produced by his overheated imagination.<sup>40</sup>

It was generally agreed by writers on medicine that the temperament most conducive to a high level of intelligence was a dry and warm one: too much moisture made for a lethargic, forgetful disposition and a hopeless memory, while too much cold prevented cerebral activity. The Arcipreste de Talavera attributed intelligence to the hot, dry choleric temperament: 'estos tales son muy curiosos e de gran seso, ardidos, sotiles, sabyos, yngeniosos'.<sup>41</sup> Other writers, however, follow Aristotle's argument, outlined in his Problem 30, that, as wine has different effects on a person according to the amount drunk, so too 'melancholy causeth divers manners, and sundry constitutions'.<sup>42</sup> Lemnius does not attribute intelligence to choler, but to the moderately heated form of unnatural melancholy: this produces 'excellent good wits, and sharp judgements': so much so that the people in whom this humour predominates 'seem to doe many things so notably, as though they were furthered and inspired by some Divine instinct or motion'.<sup>43</sup> Burton lists among the symptoms of the melancholy type that 'their memories are most part good, they have happy

40. Huarte, p. 119 ff.

41. Corbacho, p. 191.

42. Lemnius, p. 237.

43. P. 237.



wits, and excellent apprehensions', and he stresses their hot, dry nature.<sup>44</sup> It would appear, therefore, that don Quijote's intelligence stems from the type of hot, dry temperament which is termed adust melancholy, and which is also reflected in the hot, dry nature of his passions and moods.

In concluding this section I would like to point out how important is the relationship between body and mind with regard to don Quijote's character. This close interaction between body and mind creates and maintains a vicious circle of madness which don Quijote cannot break. He goes mad, first of all, from a combination of bad living habits - especially those of lack of food and sleep - and the reading of fantastical stories which, together with the vapours of burning humours, cloud his imagination. Acting upon his mad impulse, he indulges the hot, dry passions of the knight-errant, and leads an over-active, under-fed existence; all of which maintains the excess of adust melancholy in his body. This hot, dry humour in its turn keeps his brain in a state of febrile confusion, and prevents him from seeing the harm which he is doing himself. Because he does not notice the harm, a cure is not forthcoming, and the madness becomes worse, while his body becomes weaker. Conversely, we see how an accidental alteration in his way of life, such as a purge, a good sleep, a glass of strengthening, moistening wine, or a good meal can improve his condition, making his body stronger and, at the same time, his mind less mad. These accidents, however, do not occur often enough to cure him completely: the change, when it comes, is an innate, logical,

44. Vol I, p. 440.

and irreversible process.

#### THE COOLING PROCESS

From the beginning of Don Quijote Part II, a change begins to take place in the character of the knight; almost imperceptibly at first, but gathering strength until the transformation is complete. Gradually, the hot, dry choleric passions are replaced by the cold ones associated with cold melancholy. This alteration in don Quijote's temperament is apparent both in his attitude towards and dealings with the outside world, and in his moods. Physiologically speaking, it is an inevitable change: because of the way in which don Quijote has abused his system, he has deprived it of its most important resource - heat. By letting off so much heat through his choleric passions, and by not replacing it with food, rest, and all the activities which preserve rather than expend body heat, he has caused a cooling throughout his body, so that the latter cannot maintain the hot passions, but rather produces the cold ones.

If we trace don Quijote's reactions to people and events during Part II of the novel, we see that they are characterised by a growing caution and a growing tiredness, although this new trend does not preclude bursts of courageous fury from time to time.<sup>45</sup> However, the don Quijote of the second part of the novel approaches his adventures with a great deal more circumspection. For example, in Part I, he rushes headlong at two "armies" of sheep; whereas in Part II, when he sees actual armies of men, he goes close enough to see what they are

45. See II, ch. xvii, p. 654; ch. lviii, pp. 961-62.

about, and finds the true explanation printed on their banners: they are the rival "brayers" (II, ch. xxvii, p. 740). Another example of growing caution on the part of the knight can be seen in a comparison between these two adventures:

'Señor caballero, nosotros no somos endiablados ni descomunales, sino dos religiosos de San Benito que vamos nuestro camino, y no sabemos si en este coche vienen, o no, ningunas forzadas princesas'.

'Para conmigo no hay palabras blandas; que ya os conozco, fementida canalla', dijo don Quijote.

Y sin esperar más respuesta, picó a Rocinante y, la lanza baja, arremetió contra el primer fraile, con tanta furia y denuedo, que si el fraile no se dejara caer de la mula, él le hiciera venir al suelo mal de su grado, y aun mal ferido, si no cayera muerto. (I, ch. viii, p. 86).

Don Quijote, que vió tan mal parado a Sancho, arremetió al que le había dado, con la lanza sobre mano; pero fueron tantos los que se pusieron en medio, que no fue posible vengarle; antes, viendo que llovía sobre él un nublado de piedras, y que le amenazaban mil encaradas ballestas y no menos cantidad de arcabuces, volvió las riendas a Rocinante, y a todo lo que su galope pudo, se salió de entre ellos, encomendándose a Dios, que de aquel peligro le librase, temiendo a cada paso no le entrase alguna bala por las espaldas y le saliese al pecho; y a cada punto recogía el aliento, por ver si le faltaba. (II, ch. xxviii, p. 744)

Between the first and second adventures cited above, it would seem that don Quijote has acquired a greater grip on reality: during the course of the second adventure, although he is still mad, he has no euphoric boldness, and makes no false accusations.

In the same way, he sees the things around him more for what they are, and only comes to grief when these things are directly concerned with chivalry, as with Maese Pedro's puppet show, and his fights with Sansón Carrasco. Inns, in Part II, are no longer seen as castles, but as inns:

Apeáronse en un mesón, que por tal se reconoció don Quijote, y y no por castillo de cava honda, torres, rastrillos y puente levadiza (II, ch. lxxi, p. 1050).

When, in Barcelona, he hears of the magic properties of the talking

head, he is not over credulous: 'admirado quedó don Quijote de la virtud y propiedad de la cabeza, y estuvo por no creer a don Antonio' (II, ch. lxii, p. 990).

Don Quijote, in all things, acquires a greater prudence. Not content with fighting and running away, he even refrains at times from fighting at all. He advises the two braying armies not to fight, but to go home peacefully: 'mis señores, vuestras mercedes están obligados por leyes divinas y humanas a sosegar-se' (II, ch. xxvii, p. 743). He would not before<sup>have</sup> stopped to consider anything, let alone human and divine laws. Still less, in his irascible hey-day, would he have balked at the prospect - a beautiful adventure, tailor-made for him - of taking on a mere gang of bandits: yet this is what he does, outside Barcelona, just because he was taken unawares:

Hallóse don Quijote a pie, su caballo sin freno, su lanza arriada a un árbol, y, finalmente, sin defensa alguna; y así, tuvo por bien de cruzar las manos e inclinar la cabeza, guardándose para mejor sazón y coyuntura' (II, ch. lx, p. 974).

This abstention from fighting on don Quijote's part could not possibly be classified as the cold melancholic passion of fear, for it is more prudence or wisdom than fear to refrain from fighting or to run away when the odds are so heavily against one. There is, however, a diminution of the hot passion of unthinking temerity; and a greater amount of cool, intelligent consideration goes into don Quijote's decision-making. Downright cowardice or fear, of course, would not be compatible with his idée fixe, the knight-errant image.

The other passion usually connected with the cold, dry, melancholy humour, that of sorrow, becomes however increasingly obvious in don Quijote's demeanour as the book progresses, and is reflected both in his mood and his actions. At the beginning of the second

part of Don Quijote, an adventure occurs which leaves our hidalgo feeling very pleased with himself, and which can in fact be considered as the high physical point of his career. This is the fight which he has with Sansón Carrasco, and from which he emerges not only victorious, but 'en extremo contento, ufano, y vanaglorioso' (II, ch. xvi, p. 640). This mood bids fair to last for some time;

Con la alegría, contento, y ufanidad que se ha dicho seguía don Quijote su jornada, imaginándose por la pasada victoria ser el caballero andante más valiente que tenía en aquella edad el mundo; daba por acabadas y a felice fin conducidas cuántas aventuras pudiesen sucederle de allí adelante; tenía en poco a los encantos y a los encantadores (II, ch. xvi, pp. 642-3).

Yet, only a little later on, Sancho, by foolishly kissing don Diego's feet, causes don Quijote to laugh and jerk himself out of a mood of 'profunda melancolía' (II, ch. xvi, p. 648). This mood of deep sadness is caused, no doubt, by his anxiety over Dulcinea's enchantment: whatever the cause, however, the end result, his increasing pensive sadness, is the same. Don Quijote no longer seems to be enjoying his adventures as much as he did in the first half of the novel, and it is not enough to say that this is because they usually turn out badly. After all, when, at the beginning of the first part of Don Quijote, he got beaten up and left by himself at the side of the road, he lay there quite happily reciting chivalric poetry to himself, until one of his fellow villagers happened by and very kindly took him home. In Part II, indeed, he seems to be much more tired out and dispirited by the failures which in Part I he did not even notice.

The adventure of the enchanted boat starts off just as it should, with just the right spice of mystery and romance. After he is foiled in his task by the enchanters; or, alternatively, saved from a soggy

death by the millers, don Quijote is very cast down indeed: 'todo este mundo es máquinas y trazas, contrarias unas de otras. Yo no puedo más' (II, ch. xxix, p. 755). And he apologises for his failure to the supposed knight or princess, without even again attempting to save them. At the opening of the adventure with the bulls we find a don Quijote who is bursting at the seams with his old panache and courage, as he stands in the middle of the road, 'con intrépido corazón', bel- lowing defiance at anyone who dares to contradict his assertion that the ladies he is protecting in the wood are - Dulcinea excepted - the most beautiful in the world (II, ch. lviii, p. 962). What happens next has the awful inevitability of a runaway steam-roller in a modern animated cartoon, as the herdsman with his herd of bulls tramples over the knight, his squire, and their two mounts. To be sure, don Quijote does attempt to rally round him his opponents and the rags of his pride: 'don Quijote, a gran priesa, tropezando aquí y cayendo allí, comenzó a correr tras la vacada', but he is completely ignored. His reaction is a mixture of anger, tiredness, and - unbelievably - em- barrañment. He does not pause to take his leave of the beautiful dam- sels, but continues on his way, 'con más vergüenza que gusto' (II, ch. lviii, p. 963). One is left with the feeling, which don Quijote pro- bably shares, that he has been knocked down once too often.

Don Quijote's predominating mood in Part II, in fact, despite his frequent bursts of anger and occasional self-satisfaction, would appear to be, if not one of sorrow, then at least one of thoughtfulness which is often accompanied by sadness. I can find no mention in Part I of thoughtful sadness, or even of much at all in the way of thinking; yet, in Part II he is described four times as being 'pensativo además':

when waiting to meet Sansón Carrasco (II, ch. ii, p. 557); when thinking of Dulcinea's enchantment (II, ch. xi, p. 610); when in Montesino's cave (II, ch. xxiii, p. 702); and after his defeat by Sansón at the end of Part II (ch. lxxi, p. 1046). This thoughtfulness is often accompanied by confusion, heaviness of mind, and sorrow. The knight is 'lleno de tristes y confusas imaginaciones' when Sancho goes to find Dulcinea; an extreme reaction from one who is justified in feeling anxiety, but surely not sadness (II, ch. x, p. 602). At various stages in the second part of the novel, he is found to be 'confuso y pensativo' (ch. xlvi, p. 886); 'mohino y melancólico' (ch. xlvi, p. 878); 'armado y pensativo, con la más triste y melancólico figura que pudiera formar la misma tristeza', when caught by the bandits (ch. lx, p. 975).

This depression is, of course, made worse every time he loses a fight: after the adventure with the bulls, he begs Sancho 'déjame morir a manos de mis pensamientos y a fuerza de mis desgracias' (II, ch. lix, p. 964); and the second fight with Sansón Carrasco has a seriously detrimental effect on his mind: 'si muchos pensamientos fatigaban a don Quijote antes de ser derribado, muchos más le fatigaron despues de caído' (II, ch. lxvii, p. 1023). His thoughts even cost him his sleep: 'don Quijote, a quien desvelaban sus imaginaciones mucho más que la hambre, no podía pegar sus ojos; antes iba y venía con el pensamiento por mil géneros de lugares' (II, ch. lx, p. 972).

Whether or not don Quijote's heavy thoughts have good cause, they certainly have an adverse effect on his body, as he is led by them to neglect his health even more than before. After the adventure with the bulls, he is too sorrowful to eat: 'no comía don Quijote, de



puro pesaroso' (II, ch. lix, p. 963). This neglect of eating, as I explained in an earlier section, deprives the knight's body of the heat which it needs to maintain his adust temperature, and so it cools down. The cooling and weakening process is hastened by lack of sleep, and the onset of sorrowful, cold passion: 'yo velo cuando tú duermes, yo lloro cuando tú cantas, yo me desmayo de ayuno cuando tú estás perezoso y desalentado de puro harto', he grumbles to Sancho (II, ch. lxviii, p. 1020). He seems, certainly, to be suffering from the cold disease of melancholia as outlined by Lemnius; suffering from 'disquietnesse of the minde and alteration of right wits, absurd cogitations, troublesome dreames... a minde sorrowfull, comfortlesse, perplexed, pensive'.<sup>46</sup>

As these symptoms grow worse, don Quijote seems to lose confidence in himself and his abilities, as for example when he asks Sancho to solve a brain teaser, for 'yo no estoy para dar migas a un gato, según traigo alborotado y trastornado el juicio' (II, ch. lxvi, p. 1020). This last example of loss of confidence on don Quijote's part occurs after his defeat in Barcelona by Sansón Carrasco, and it seems certain that the knight's melancholic symptoms, although present, as I have tried to show, before this battle, were much exacerbated by it. He does, for example, adopt the typically melancholic pose of shunning company, for melancholics 'delight ... to walk alone in orchards, gardens, private walks, back lanes, averse from company' (47). At one time he refuses to stop for a drink, 'porque pensamientos

46. p. 228.

47. Burton, vol I, p. 455.



y sucesos tristes me hacen parecer descortés y caminar más que de paso' (II, ch. lxvi, p. 1021); and when, the next day, Tosilos invites don Quijote and Sancho to partake of a glass of wine, which would have done the former a world of good, don Quijote leaves Sancho to enjoy the drink, and goes away to sit by himself under a tree, a prey to his melancholy: 'a la sombra del árbol estaba... y allí, como moscas a la miel, le acudían y picaban pensamientos' (II, ch. lxvii, p. 1023). The fight with Sansón certainly had an adverse physical effect on don Quijote, for 'seis días estuvo don Quijote en el lecho, marrido, triste, pensativo, y mal acondicionado' (II, ch. lxv, p. 1015), and it also served to increase his depression. At one stage, he even sheds tears: 'con el dolor del vencimiento y con la ausencia de Dulcinea' (II, ch. lxviii, p. 1032).

To sum up briefly, then: the physiological explanation which lies behind this change of temperament from a hot, unnatural melancholy to a cold one, is that of a process of cooling caused by the weakening of reserves in don Quijote's body. He did not feed his humour, and even the fiercest of fires has to have fuel, or it will go out. In don Quijote's body, the fuel is lacking, the fire goes out, and the hot, burnt, dry bile begins to cool and turn to the cold ashes of unnatural melancholy. The process, however, is a gradual one, and don Quijote's insanity, love of knight-errantry, and outbursts of hot, choleric passions still intersperse the cold passion of sorrow.

#### ATTEMPTS AT A CURE: SANITY AND DEATH

While don Quijote makes no conscious effort to improve his

humoral balance and restore his sanity, it cannot be said that his friends are idle on his behalf. His niece and housekeeper, his friends the priest and barber, and the student Sansón Carrasco all attempt to bring don Quijote to his senses. Their methods, especially in the case of Carrasco, admittedly afford some amusement by the way, but it must be stressed that their motives are fundamentally good, and their attempts at a cure would have been approved by any doctor of their day.

The housekeeper and niece, following the advice of the priest and barber, do their best for don Quijote's physical state by insisting that he rest, and by feeding him well (II, ch. i and vii). The rest and sleep would have a moistening effect on his brain, while the six hundred eggs which the housekeeper expends on his behalf (II, ch. vii, p. 583) would, with their warming and moistening properties, mitigate the cold and dryness of don Quijote's temperament.

The priest and barber, in the burning of the chivalresque romances, the sealing off of don Quijote's library, and their attempts to bring the knight back to the village by means of a cage, far from being cruel, are acting in don Quijote's interests in the manner which would least harm him. For indirectly, don Quijote's return to sanity was in fact brought about by a treatment of which everyone in Cervantes' time knew, as did the characters in Don Quijote. This is the method of 'humouring' the patient, or, as the Spanish put it more precisely, 'siguiéndole el humor'; and it is one of the most popular cures for madness. Du Laurens has many tales to tell about melancholy madmen who were cured by humouring: some of which were used by Spanish writers of the time.<sup>48</sup> The method of humouring the melancholy

48. Du Laurens, ch. 7. Lope de Vega was especially intrigued by

patient was to agree to whatever it was they said, and then somehow to trick them into agreeing with whatever it was you said, and thereby cure them:

Aetius riteth of one, which thought himself to have no head, and did speak it openly everywhere, that there was one which had cut it off for his tyrannous dealings. This man was cured very cunningly, by the skill of a Phisition named Philotinus. For he caused a skull of yron waying very heavie to bee put upon his head: and he thereupon crying out that his head did grieve him, was by and by confirmed by all them that stood by, which also cried: then you have a head; which he acknowledged by this means, and so was freed from his false imagination.<sup>49</sup>

At the very beginning of the book, the priest and barber, no fools, try to remove don Quijote's madness by removing its cause: 'uno de los remedios que el cura y el barbero dieron, por entonces, para el mal de su amigo fue que le murasen y tapiasen el aposento de los libros, porque cuando se levantase no los hallase - quizá quitando la causa, cesaría el efecto - ' (I, ch. vii, p. 77). This is sound psychology, and as a cure, was advocated by such as Burton, who felt that there was 'no better way to satisfy than to remove the cause, object, occasion' of the madness in question.<sup>50</sup> The priest and barber also decide 'que dijese que un encantador se los (the books) había llevado' (I, ch. vii, p. 77); an unfortunate decision, for by mixing their cures they are doing more harm than good. In reminding don Quijote of enchanterers, they are "humouring" him; while by hiding away the object of his madness, they are trying to deny

(48. cont.) this type of story, and used it in such plays as El príncipe melancólico, El mármol de Felisardo, and Don Juan de Castro, Part I. See my chapter 5.

49. Du Laurens, ch. 7, p. 101.

50. Vol II, p. 126.

the existence of the same enchanters. Their methods, then, well-meaning as they are, are counter-productive. Their cage idea, again ostensibly the work of enchanters, shows another attempt on their part to humour the mad knight, but it does not really succeed: don Quijote is still quite mad at the beginning of the second part of the novel.

The real psychological expert of the piece, and the one who does the most towards effecting a cure for don Quijote, is the student, Sansón Carrasco. His methods are much the same as those used by the wily doctor in Du Laurens' story; and are - eventually - successful. He decides that the best thing for don Quijote's health would be to get the knight to come back home voluntarily, and forget about knight-errantry for a while. As he explains to don Antonio, 'está su salud en el reposo, y en que esté en su tierra y en su casa' (II, ch. lxxv, p. 1014); which is just what don Quijote's family and friends have been trying to tell the knight all along. Sansón also decides to beat don Quijote at his own game, in knightly combat, and make him promise to stay at home, because this is truly humouring him, and making the trick appear right and inevitable in don Quijote's eyes. Where he does fall down, however - literally! - is in his under-estimation of his opponent's fighting abilities. He loses the first fight, and don Quijote, madder and prouder than ever, rushes off in search of more adventures. Eventually, in Barcelona, Sansón catches up with his opponent, and, beating him in knightly combat, makes him promise to stay at home for a year; by the end of which time, he hopes, don Quijote's rest-cure will be complete. The result of this battle is to make don Quijote sadder, physically broken, and saner;

'que después que le vencieron, con más juicio en todas las cosas discurría' (II, ch. lxxi, p. 1050). I do not feel, however, that his return to sanity is entirely due to Sansón's treatment: it is, rather, the combination of weaker physique and cooler temperament, humouring, and fever which bring don Quijote to his senses.

The logical conclusion to the cooling process is death. Don Quijote, in having the melancholy humour predominating in his body, has only speeded up a natural process, for the cold, dry, melancholy humour always prevails in the body in the last stages of life; because it shares its properties with death. Cervantes, at the beginning of the last chapter of the novel, reflects the Aristotelian notion of life being a natural progression from the hot and moist qualities to the cold, dry ones of death: 'como las cosas humanas no sean eternas, yendo siempre en declinación de sus principios hasta llegar a su último fin, especialmente las vidas de los hombres... llegó su fin' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1062). Don Quijote is, as it were, on the last lap, because of his melancholic humour. The real causes of his death are already present in his body. He suffers from sad passions, which send the vital spirits fleeing from the heart; he has not enough sleep or food; his cold humours would not enable his stomach to digest properly or his bowels to function properly, and the little heat he has in his body is consumed by his fighting and exercise.

The last straw is the onset of a fever, which drains the last of his strength, and from which he dies. A quartan fever is caused by the putrefaction of the melancholic humour, as Ficino observes: 's'ella (l'atra bile)... o semplice, o mista che sia, si putrefa,

genera la febbre quartana'.<sup>51</sup> Cervantes does not give a definite cause for the onset of the fever, attributing it to 'o ya... la melancolía que le causaba el verse vencido, o ya por la disposición del cielo' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1062). The doctor, on seeing his patient, immediately realises that don Quijote is dying: 'dijo que, por sí o por no, atendiese a la salud de su alma, porque la del cuerpo corría peligro' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1063). He also has his own opinion as to the reasons for his death; those of melancholy and depression; 'fue el parecer del médico que melancolías y desabrimientos le acababan' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1063). Sancho is also aware of the cause, although he seems to see don Quijote's melancholy as a death-wish rather than a physical illness: 'la mayor locura que puede hacer un hombre en esta vida es morir sin más ni más, sin que nadie le mate, ni otras manos le acaben que las de la melancolía' (II, ch. lxxiv, p. 1065).

Before he dies, one last temperamental change takes place within don Quijote, and that is his return to sanity. The direct causes of this are a fever, and a sleep. We have already dealt with the restorative properties of sleep which, because of its moistening nature, would modify the dryness which has led in the first place to don Quijote's madness. As far as the fever is concerned, this was known to relieve melancholy in rather the same way as purging did: 'all melancholy men are better after a quartan'.<sup>52</sup>

51. Marsilio Ficino, De le tre vite (Venetia 1548), f. 5.

52. Burton, vol I, p. 493. Compare Lope, El poder vencido y amor premiado, in RAE, Obras, vol 8, p. 565, Act III, with reference to sanity: 'dícenme que lo cobran muchos locos/ de su furioso exceso,/ al tiempo de morir, y que son pocos/ los que no lo han cobrado/ habiendo al duro tránsito llegado'.

It is, by this time, too late to save his life. The sleep which preceded his mental recovery rallied him enough to speak, confess, and make his will, but the vital heat in his body has been altogether consumed by the fever, and so he dies, his last reserves gone.

The aim of this chapter has been to point out the overall consistency which I find in the portrayal by Cervantes of his protagonist, don Quijote. This consistency is based on his body's temperament, so that the progression from sane country squire to mad knight and back again can be seen as logical and, as far as the cooling process is concerned, even predictable.

According to the prevailing popular medical theory, it is acceptable to term don Quijote as a melancholy humorous type; although, in view of the vague and broad nature of that term, I would prefer to be more specific. He is, then, a melancholy madman of choler adust, and afterwards, when the humour has cooled, a melancholy type, of melancholy adust; of hot and dry, then cold and dry, qualities. Most of what he says, or does, during the course of the novel, can be categorised into the normal - or abnormal - characteristics of these types. As far as the type of madness is concerned, he could be a contemporary text-book case; although I know of no text-book that could devote over a thousand pages to this most funny and appealing character of Spanish literature.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE HUMOURS, PASSION AND EVIL

My criterion for the inclusion of the works of literature studied in Chapter Five under the heading of melancholy illness was that the characters who suffered from a humoral imbalance did not allow their passions to master their reason. This chapter, on the other hand, will take the form of an examination of some characters who are evil, because they allow themselves to be swayed by their immoderate passions.

Aristotle, in his Nichomachean Ethics, outlined a code of behaviour which was desirable and virtuous, and contrasted this code with the type of behaviour which was vicious and which should be avoided. He gave a very precise list of the virtues, which steered the narrow and difficult course between the two extremes of excess and deficiency. He explained that 'moral virtue is a mean... between two vices, one of excess and the other of defect; and... it is such a mean because it aims at hitting the middle point in feelings and actions. This is why it is a hard task to be good, for it is hard to find the middle point in anything.'<sup>1</sup> This difficult, virtuous code of behaviour is followed with the help of the rational soul, which is able to discriminate between right and wrong, virtue and vice, moderation and excess. The rational soul, however, can be clouded in its judgments if it becomes swayed by excessive passions. Virtue, therefore, can only be upheld for so long as the passions are kept under control, as Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, explains:

We, as long as we are ruled by reason, correct our inordinate appetite, and conform ourselves to God's word, are as so many living saints: but if we give reins to lust, anger, ambition,

1. Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, p. 111.



pride, and follow our own ways, we degenerate into beasts, transform ourselves, overthrow our constitutions, provoke God to anger, and heap upon us this of melancholy, and all kinds of incurable diseases, as a just and deserved punishment of our sins.<sup>2</sup>

Virtue, then, is to be attained by subduing the natural passions and placing them under the jurisdiction of the reason; and it is in this all-important moral exercise that we discover the necessity for a proper humoral balance; because a predominance of any one humour can increase the strength of certain passions, cloud the intellect, and lead to vice. Intemperance, for example, in the form of extreme anger, will be caused by an excess of yellow bile in the body, or a choleric temperament. A person who is excessively sanguine in complexion will be lecherous and self-indulgent. In short, any humorous type, in excess, will be evil if he allows his innate passions to rule his head.

The plays which I shall examine in this chapter deal with this theme of the struggle between passion and reason, and with extreme, monstrous, or tyrannical people who, because they are ruled by passion, can be classified as humorous types.

#### I. CONTRASTING TEMPERAMENTAL TYPES

Tirso's play Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos is, as the title suggests, a type of dramatization of Aristotle's views on virtue and vice, illustrated by the portrayal of bad humorous types. It is a play about extremes, composed of the interwoven themes of the Prodigal Son and the poor man Lazarus stories; of Fortune's wheel, and of excess and moderation.<sup>3</sup> Lázaro is a virtuous, if excessively generous, man,

2. Vol I, p. 156.

3. See Margaret Wilson, Tirso de Molina, pp. 106-8, who has studied the allegorical elements of the play in precise detail.

who follows the downward trend of Fortune's wheel and dies in poverty. His uncle, the rich man, Nineucio, is an avaricious type who dies of an apoplexy. Liberio is the happy-go-lucky prodigal son who loses all his money, and subsequently his friends, and lives to learn by his own and everyone else's mistakes. Lázaro and Nineucio are contrasted by their status in life and their different positions on Fortune's wheel: they are

los dos en la vida extremos  
de la rueda de fortuna,  
y hasta en el morir diversos. 4

As far as temperament is concerned, however, the two extremes are the characters of Liberio and Nineucio, while the character of Lázaro epitomises the golden mean. Liberio's father Clemente points out this lesson to his erring son:

vicioso pródigo fuiste,  
y aquél, misero avariento;  
tanto en tí fué lo de más,  
como en él fué de menos.  
En medio está la virtud,  
si son vicios los extremos,  
de Lázaro el medio escoje,  
y tendrás a Dios por premio. (p. 1153b, Act III)

As far as our study of the humours is concerned, Lázaro, in his virtue, has, according to Clemente, the perfectly balanced temperament, while Nineucio and Liberio are illustrative of two contrasting humorous types.

The prodigal Liberio is a man who is led into evil ways because of an excess of blood in his body. His sanguine nature is revealed by his youth, his love of feasting and revelling, and his indifference

4. Tirso de Molina, Obras, vol I, p. 1152a, Act III. Further references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

towards anything which has not directly to do with pleasure. He prepares for one of his lavish parties by dressing in the colours of green and red, which emphasise the heat of his nature; green for choler, and red for blood:

yo quiero salir de verde  
y encarnado, que es color  
que conforma con mi humor. (II, p. 1126b)

It is the blood which is predominant in his body, however; for he shows no anger and has no tendency to fight, concentrating rather on his own happiness, which is the chief sanguine passion. In giving his orders for the entertainment, he reveals the excessive liberality which is hinted at in his name, by linking himself with that most liberal of men, Alexander. He wants

... cuantos entretenimientos  
alegran Alejandría:  
bailes, juegos, bazarria,  
juglares y encantamientos.  
Haya comedias discretas,  
que es el mejor ejercicio,  
suspension de todo vicio  
y martirio de poetas.  
No tenga el pesar molesto  
jamás en mi casa puerta;  
sólo el gusto la halla abierta. (p. 1127a, Act II)

Liberio's career is magnificent but necessarily brief. His money is soon dissipated on this hedonistic entertainment and, after a spell of bad luck with the cards, his friends, who turn out to be mere hangers-on, desert him. Liberio, disillusioned and poor, returns to his father. He is forgiven because, although he has allowed his sanguine passions to rule his reason, he erred on the side of generosity and goodwill, besides being a patron of the comedia.

Nineucio has a far less attractive personality, and his avaricious and mean-spirited actions are punished by death. The extreme nature of

this unattractive man's personality is illustrated by Tirso not only in his meanness, but in his temperament, which is depicted as being excessively phlegmatic. Nineucio does nothing but eat and sleep: his wife describes his movements as being restricted 'desde la cama a la mesa, / y de la mesa a la cama' (p. 1129a, Act II). These two habits are typical of the phlegmatic type because of their moistening properties. Sleep moistens the brain, while food moistens the body. Nineucio is phlegmatic rather than sanguine in nature because he displays the laziness and lack of emotion which is typical of the phlegmatic type. Like Liberio, he is excessive in temperament because of his single-minded self-indulgence, which allows no room for reasonable moderation. Nothing is more important to Nineucio than rest. When Lázaro, his nephew, arrives to beg for help, he exclaims

¿qué sobrino hay de más precio  
que el descanso que perdí?  
Ningún pariente me trate;  
sólo mi comodidad  
busca mi felicidad;  
lo demás es disparate...  
sólo mi gusto es mi dueño;  
por un instante de sueño  
venderé a mi padre y madre. (p. 1129b, Act II)

This repellent and amoral character, who does nothing but eat, sleep, and dream of food, dies in a state of sin, and his life-style is held up as an example of a vicious extreme.

In two more of his plays, El burlador de Sevilla and El condenado por desconfiado, Tirso de Molina depicts characters whose evil ways are illustrated by means of a temperament which is humorally unbalanced. Although the authorship of one, or other, or both of the plays has in the past been called in question, it is now generally agreed that Tirso probably wrote them both; and the two works have been paired off

because, thematically, they complement one another.<sup>5</sup> Don Juan, the protagonist of El burlador de Sevilla, is condemned to hellfire because of his excessive and groundless confidence in his ultimate salvation; while Paulo, after years of saintly living, loses all confidence in God and follows the way of the Devil. Don Juan and Paulo, however, do not only provide a contrast because of excessive confidence on the one hand, and lack of it on the other; but because of their opposing temperamental make-up. The boisterous don Juan is prompted to follow evil ways by his excessively sanguine temperament, while the unfortunate Paulo suffers from a melancholic disposition which inclines him to reach erroneous conclusions and to cease to act in a virtuous manner.

There is no direct reference, either in El burlador de Sevilla or in the play attributed to Calderón, and entitled Tan largo me lo fiáis, to the sanguine nature of don Juan's temperament, and a humoral imbalance is not specifically mentioned as being the cause of his evil ways.<sup>6</sup> However, his youth and ardent manner towards the ladies point to a hot complexion, while his self-centred and hedonistic nature are typical of the pleasure-loving sanguine type rather than the irascible choleric nature; for

the sanguine gamesome is, and nothing nice,  
loves wine, and women, and all recreation,  
... loves mirth, and music, and cares not what comes after.

5. See Margaret Wilson, Tirso de Molina, p. 109 and pp. 112-116, on problems of authorship.

6. For readings of the character of don Juan, see Daniel Rogers, Tirso de Molina. El burlador de Sevilla, Critical Guides to Spanish Texts, no. 19 (London 1977), pp. 31-40; Margaret Wilson, Tirso de Molina, pp. 121-3.

7. Regimen, p. 132.

The two besetting sins which lead to don Juan's downfall are contained in these lines. The first sin is his love of a joke, as typified in his title of burlador. Although the don Juan legend has been built up around his reputation as a lady-killer, he was originally more concerned with the fun he could get out of damaging a lady's reputation than with the dalliance itself. He admits that

... el mayor  
gusto que en mí puede haber  
es burlar una mujer<sup>8</sup>  
y dejalla sin honor.

It is significant, however, that don Juan chooses as his material a pastime at which a man of sanguine temperament excels. The Arcipreste de Talavera describes the sanguine type as being 'mucho enamorado e su corazón arde como fuego, e ama a dyestro e a syniestro'.<sup>9</sup> Don Juan therefore fits the role of the sanguine type, both as regards loving women, and loving a joke, or being 'gamesome'.

Don Juan's besetting sin, however, and the one which leads to his damnation, is his habit of living for the day, confident in the expectation that there will always be time before death to repent of his sins and make his peace with God. Different people, during the course of the play, take it upon themselves to warn don Juan of the reckoning that lies in wait for him, but don Juan turns this off with a laugh, and indulges himself to the top of his bent:

Tisbea:                      Advierte,  
   mi bien, que hay Dios y que hay muerte.  
D.Juan:    ¡Qué largo me lo fiáis! (p. 184, Act I)

8. El burlador de Sevilla, Tirso de Molina, Comedias I, edited by Américo Castro, Clásicos Castellanos, 7th edition (Madrid 1963), p. 199, Act II.

9. Corbacho, p. 186.

Retribution follows inevitably, and don Juan, because he blinds his reason with vicious self-indulgence, and commits the sin of caring 'not what comes after', which is typical of the man of excessively sanguine temperament, is eternally damned.

The case of Paulo, El condenado por desconfiado, is a good example of what Robert Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, termed religious melancholy. Burton stresses that the habits of the very religious man make him particularly susceptible to this evil melancholy, explaining that 'fasting, contemplation, solitariness, are as it were certain rams by which the devil doth batter and work upon the strongest constitutions'.<sup>10</sup> The habit of fasting brings about a melancholy temperament by causing the body, through an insufficient supply of food, to dry up and grow cold. Once the melancholy has taken a hold, Burton says, 'the devil sets in a foot, strangely deludes them, and by that means makes them to overthrow the temperature of their bodies, and hazard their souls' (p. 393).

Burton's description of the causes and onset of religious melancholy are strongly reminiscent of Paulo's state at the beginning of

10. Vol III, p. 392. Also see my chapter 3, p. 72, the citation of Melchor Cano; and the section on Acedia, Aquinas' sin of spiritual sloth, in Daniel Rogers' edition of El condenado por desconfiado (Oxford 1974), pp. 23-4, and pp. 44-5 (footnote number 33). Rogers explains that 'Acedia... is most liable to attack the monk about mid-day and in the heat of summer, especially if he is fasting in the desert... Paulo has spent some ten years fasting in the wilderness. In his first speech he greets the dawn. The blue sky, green grass and flowering broom indicate a summer morning. When he retires to pray, Pedrisco has already collected his bulky vegetarian meal. Sleep overcomes the praying Paulo not at night but in the middle of the day. The family of vices associated with acedia - malice, rancour, pusillanimity, despair, slackness in carrying out precepts, straying of the mind into forbidden territory - add up to an accurate and comprehensive description of his subsequent behaviour... Sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish moralists discuss spiritual sloth in much the same terms.'



the play. Paulo, as we learn from his opening speech, is a devoutly religious and ostensibly happy man. His servant, Pedrisco, explains that, for the past ten years, he and his master have lived as hermits, each in his own dark cave, feeding only on plants. This solitary and underfed existence, combined as it is with Paulo's religious fervour, is enough to undermine the toughest constitution; and ten years of abstinence would make for a predominance of cold, dry black bile in Paulo's body, inclining him towards a melancholic disposition. We are soon informed that Paulo has dreamt that he has died, been weighed in the balance, found wanting, and condemned to hell. Bad dreams and delusions are a typical symptom of the melancholic disposition, and could be dispelled by a relaxation of the physically debilitating life-style.<sup>11</sup> Paulo, however, has no notion of the effect which his abstinence has had on his brain, and mistakes physical melancholia, with its accompanying delusions, for a vision stemming from outside his mind. He therefore reads God's disapproval in the black, bilious vapours clouding his brain, and his confidence in the Almighty is shaken. A crack of mistrust has appeared in his armour of virtue; he questions God, demanding reassurance and a promise of reward in heaven. Because his reason is clouded by the melancholy passions of sadness, suspicion and fear, Paulo can no longer distinguish between right and wrong. The Devil, spotting his chance, steps through this chink of doubt in Paulo's virtue, and misleads him with a truly external vision. This second vision, which is as pessimistic as the

11. Pedro Ciruelo, Reprouación de las supersticiones, p. 64, explains that 'si se mueve la melancolia: sueña cosas negras, oscuras, y cosas tristes de muertos'.



first, does stem from outside rather than the clouds in Paulo's brain; but it is only permitted to appear because Paulo's melancholy, in weakening the hermit's reasoning, gave it an opportunity to do so.

Paulo is informed that his fate will be the same as that of a certain Enrico, and he sets out to find this man. When he discovers that Enrico is the most criminal bandit in the locality, he loses no time in following in Enrico's footsteps. He becomes cruel, despairing and evil; and, on his death, his earlier delusions become reality. In his actions as a bandit, Paulo evinces characteristics of cruelty and violence which are more typical of the choleric temperament than the melancholic; but this is due more to his aping of Enrico's ways, which will be examined at a later point in this chapter together with the personalities of other choleric bullies, than to his own personality, which is despairing and melancholic.

## II. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN REASON AND LUST

The struggle for supremacy between the powers of the rational soul and the emotions of the sensitive soul is one which greatly concerned the moralists. It was agreed that the passions, of themselves, were not necessarily bad, but became so when they rebelled against the reason. Likewise, the man who experienced these passions was not himself necessarily a bad man; but he became one if he allowed his passions to win the battle with reason.

Perhaps the most rebellious passion, and certainly the one which most interested writers, especially the dramatists of the Golden Age, was that of love or lust. As long as this passion exists within the bounds of marriage, or between two people who can get married with

the approval of society, there is no conflict between reason and passion. The conflict occurs when, for some reason, marriage is not possible between the two parties. The passions are then urging the body to consummate the love, while the mind knows that to do this would be sinful. We have already seen several cases of this conflict in the section on lover's melancholy, when young men, who are themselves married, or who are in love with a married woman, become ill as a result of their internal struggle and frustrated love. Their reason does prevail, and their moral integrity is saved at the expense of their health. These men are not sinful, but wretched. There are other cases, however, where a man, knowing full well that consummation of his love is impossible within the accepted bounds of society, still insists on having his way. Because these men have allowed their passion to overcome their reason, they are not only sinful, but are also suffering from a humoral imbalance which has given the passions more power than is their due.

Guillén de Castro, in two of his plays, El amor constante and La piedad en la justicia, follows the internal struggle of a man who is in love with a woman whom he cannot marry. In El amor constante, the king, a married man, falls violently in love with Nísida, one of the ladies-in-waiting. He becomes impatient with his wife, who tries to distract him, and angry with his brother, who wants to marry Nísida. His wife notices her husband's 'melancolía', which stems from his frustrated love, while his brother sees the king's furious blind rage as choler. The king's passions become uncontrollable, and he quietens his small voice of reason by assuming a fatalistic attitude, excusing his conduct by saying that he is mad, and therefore not

answerable for his mistakes; that he was born under an evil star, and therefore cannot help himself; and that nothing is his fault.

The idea of madness is also apparent in La piedad en la justicia, where the bare bones of the plot are the same as those just described with reference to El amor constante. The Hungarian king of La piedad en la justicia is equally determined to follow his illicit appetites, and refers several times to himself as being 'loco'. This madness is not so much derangement as a deliberate clouding of the intellect and the conscience with the choleric passion of lust. Confusion is equated with the desire to sin. These two evilly disposed kings, however, are prevented from fulfilling their desires by circumstances, and the virtue of the two ladies is upheld. The kings emerge from their passion-ruled state of confusion, and are once again able to listen to the clear voice of reason, and to obey it. The outcome of these two plays is not therefore unhappy, and the humoral balance of the two transgressors is restored.

Rojas Zorrilla, in his play entitled Lucrecia y Tarquino, provides us with a story which is at the same time more unhappy and more interesting, for the purpose of this study, than those of Guillén de Castro. Both the humoral make-up of the characters and the dilemma between passion and reason are more clearly defined than in the two plays mentioned above; and the play therefore merits a more detailed study.

In Lucrecia y Tarquino, Rojas tells the story of the Roman Lucrecia who is raped by Sexto Tarquino and who, rather than dishonour her husband, takes her own life, thus earning for herself the title of the most chaste and virtuous wife ever known. The theme of the

play could be described as a struggle between the forces of reason and passion, which culminates in the confrontation between Sexto Tarquino and Lucrecia, the former's physical victory over the chaste woman, and the latter's spiritual victory over the bestial tyrant. The characters of the play are almost allegorical in nature, and a study of their personalities provides us with a composite picture of the various levels of the struggle. On a moral plane, a battle rages between the two forces of good and evil; on the mental plane lies the struggle between the sensitive and the rational souls, or between the forces of passion and reason; while on a physiological level, the confrontation takes place between the excessively choleric temperament and the perfectly balanced temperament. An examination of the physiological or humoral make-up of the main characters will therefore lead us to an understanding of the major issues of the play.

At the beginning of the play, we learn that the king, Tarquino, is a tyrant who has set himself on the throne by force. Lucrecia's husband, Colatino, advises Tarquino, now that he has been declared king, to stop the brutal killings before the people rebel against his tyrannical ways:

Colatino: Cese el rigor comenzado,  
porque el enfermo tal vez  
se desazona después  
con lo mismo que ha sanado. 12

Tarquino's son, Saxto, has another argument to offer his father which, similarly, stems from medical theory of Roman and of seventeenth century Spanish times. He advises his father to continue to exercise his

12. Rojas Zorrilla, Lucrecia y Tarquino, edited with an introduction by Raymond R. MacCurdy (Albuquerque 1963), p. 47, Act I. Further references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

tyranny, because force of habit, however bad the habit, is too strong to allow of any change:

Cuando un sujeto se cría  
desde la cuna y el pecho  
con venenos, le es provecho  
lo que a otro muerte sería;  
porque la costumbre es tal,  
si con el tiempo se observa,  
que le alimenta y conserva  
aquel veneno mortal (p. 47, Act I).

Tarquino decides in favour of the cruel policy, and rejects the merciful alternative offered by the reasonable Colatino. In doing so he labels himself as a tyrant, a type which is recognised by seventeenth century European moralists as being particularly evil, especially when he is a man who has usurped the throne, rather than one who has rightfully been crowned king. Whereas the cruelties of the tyrant who is legitimate heir to the throne must be borne, because he is probably sent by God to punish the erring nation, the usurper is not to be tolerated. He is regarded by Plato as a mentally disturbed man, and presented by Renaissance writers as the embodiment of evil:

He is pre-eminently proud, wrathful, lecherous, and avaricious. This doctrinaire creation of Renaissance moralists has much in common with the supreme author of evil; and as they emblazon the godly prince as God's vice-regent, they denigrate the mortally sinning tyrant as a human counterpart to Satan himself.<sup>13</sup>

The tyrant, moreover, is a man in whom passion reigns supreme: 'in the mind of the ambitious man, the chief intellectual faculties of the soul, reason and will, are dominated by his passion'.<sup>14</sup> Tarquino and his son Sexto are two men of a kind; cruelly tyrannical, and unreason-

13. W.A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan conception of the Tyrant', Review of English Studies, 22 (1946), pp. 161-81. See pp. 168-9.

14. Armstrong, p. 178.

able.

Sexto Tarquino's passions take the form, at the beginning of the play, of rash courage, anger, and cruelty. He describes how, during the course of a battle, 'en ira, en sangre, y en furor envuelto,/ llegué al senado, intrépido y resuelto' (p. 43, Act I). Imagery of fire is also applied to Sexto's temperament, underlining the fact that he suffers from an excess of yellow bile. Sexto's youth, rash courage, and irascibility all point to the choleric temperament, but his harsh cruelty and tyrannical proclivity indicate a corruption of that bile which leads him to excessive behaviour. Sexto, and his father, are both accused of 'sangriento rigor' (p. 87, Act III), and Sexto of 'grande exceso' when he flings a loyal man into prison.

The character of Bruto underlines the excessive nature of the two Tarquinos' temperaments. He is supposed to be mad, and therefore aptly named, for without his reason he is no better than a beast. Bruto, however, is only pretending to be mad, in order to be passed over at the time of Tarquino's cruel purge; and he explains that

no es loco el que de loco se disfraza.  
La vida gano en la opinión que pierdo,  
fingido loco y cauteloso cuerdo. (p. 45, Act I)

He exercises the prerogative of the madman to speak frankly and truthfully, and criticises the king and his son. A wise man, who has learnt life's lessons, Bruto acts as the homme raisonneur in this play, and is named more for what he criticises than for what he is. A reasonable man, Bruto discerns the mad and brutish passions of Tarquino and Sexto.

The character of Lucrecia is very different from that of Sexto Tarquino. We already know, because the story is a famous one, that

this woman is remarkable for her chastity and virtue. Whereas Sexto is ruled by his passions, Lucrecia subjugates her emotions to the dictates of her reason, which follows the virtuous path of moderation. In order to be able to do this, there must be no one humour predominating in her blood, as this humour would make for certain strong passions which urge her towards a particular and potentially dangerous, bad mode of conduct. In effect, when Lucrecia's husband Colatino describes his wife, he praises her, not so much in terms of virtue, but in terms of balance:

lo cuerdo y lo hermoso,  
lo prudente y entendido,  
lo airoso y [lo] recatado,  
lo desenvuelto y lo lindo,  
está en ella tan conforme,  
vive con tanto art[i]ficio,  
que se abrazan los extremos  
cuando más están distintos. (p. 69, Act II)

Lucrecia, through tremendous endeavour and 'artificio', contrives to maintain the potentially warring elements in her body in a delicate state of equilibrium. She is the possessor of the most virtuous and unusual humoral balance: the perfect temperament. Physical perfection is reflected in her unerring judgement and untarnished virtue.

Because of our knowledge of the two different temperaments, we are prepared for the confrontation between Sexto and Lucrecia, realising that the struggle is more than that between a lecherous male and an unwilling female. When Sexto Tarquino sees Lucrecia, he experiences the typically choleric passion of lust which, owing to his nature, he does not even attempt to curb. Lucrecia, on the other hand, does not at any time evince any desire for Sexto, or, indeed, any strong passion at all. The dilemma between right and wrong, therefore, does not take

place within the mind, but is made external: Lucrecia stands for what is reasonable and right, and Sexto for passion and wrong-doing. Sexto explains rather than excuses his lust; while Lucrecia tries to cool his passionate ardour:

Sexto:       Fuerza es de amor impaciente.  
Lucrecia:    Para esa fuerza hay valor.  
Sexto:       Es muy poderoso, amor.  
Lucrecia:    Y la razón muy valiente.  
Sexto:       Que no hay razón en quien ama...  
              Yo hablo con pasión.  
Lucrecia:    Yo, señor, así lo entiendo.  
Sexto:       Yo mis afectos definiendo.  
Lucrecia:    Yo definiendo la razón. (p. 101, Act III)

Lucrecia, realising that her physical strength cannot match up to that of Sexto, tries to reason with him, telling him to be 'cuerdo'. Sexto, however, is bent on following his inclinations, and, because his brain is clouded by passion, is suffering from a type of madness. In a previous scene, where he meets and is strongly attracted by Lucrecia's beauty and virtue, Sexto Tarquino drinks water from a glass, and, as he puts the drink down again, the glass is broken. R. MacCurdy has noted this incident, suggesting that its significance lies in the fact that the glass stands for Lucrecia's honour. Both the glass and honour are brittle things, and both are destroyed by Sexto.<sup>15</sup> This incident, however, could also be interpreted from the point of view of the humoral theory. Sexto is unable to curb his passions because his cruelty and lust stem from an excess of the hot, dry, choleric humour. The drink of water stands for one final effort to restore his humoral balance by tempering the excessive heat and dryness of his complexion with the cold, wet water; and so to enable

15. MacCurdy's introduction to Lucrecia y Tarquino, p. 28.



Sexto to see reason, instead of being ruled by his choler. The glass breaks; the attempt has failed, and tragedy ensues when passion, in the shape of the unbridled lust of the choleric Sexto, wins over the reasonable, and temperamentally balanced Lucrecia.

Another example of the battle between lust and virtuous reasoning is combined, in Tirso's play La venganza de Tamar, with the pattern of lover's melancholy, as described in an earlier chapter of this study. The cruel and lustful Amón tends towards the melancholic, rather than the choleric temperament, as befits the darker tone of the story. La venganza de Tamar tells the brutal story of Amón's rape of his half-sister Tamar, and her subsequent revenge. The main feature of interest in the play is the portrayal of the wicked Amón's personality, which is drawn in detail by Tirso, and which can be classified as a melancholic temperament.<sup>16</sup> Corrupt black bile is the most damaging humour of all, and it is fitting that it should be the one to shape the mind that is willing to commit what is perhaps the most frowned-upon sin of all, that of incest.

The character of Amón is seen from the beginning of the play as being most singular, for we learn at the outset that the young prince dislikes war. Eliazer cannot account for this taste:

No amando, aborrecer  
las armas,...  
cosa es nueva.  
Amón: ...Sí, Eliazer;  
nueva es, por eso la apruebo;  
en todo soy singular;

16. For a study of La venganza de Tamar, together with El amor médico, El Aquiles, and El melancólico, see Margaret Wilson, Tirso de Molina, ch 5, entitled Oddities and Outsiders. Amón's singularity is noticed (pp. 72-3), but no connection is made with the humours.

que no es digno de estimar  
el que no inventa algo nuevo. 17

Amón's dislike of fighting owes more to his desire to be unusual than to the cowardice born of a cold temperament; as his next action shows. The young prince takes it into his head to spy in the forbidden territory, the ladies' quarters. His curiosity, and determination to humour his own passions, do not brook any argument:

Jonadab: ... siendo tan peligrosa  
y de tan poco provecho  
no me parece que es justo.

Amón: Provecho es hacer mi gusto. (p. 367a, Act I)

Jonadab: ¡Qué extraño son los señores!  
Eliazer: Y el nuestro, ¡qué temerario!

Amón peeks into the garden, and there espies and falls in love with a most beautiful lady.

Until now, Amón has not appeared to be a wicked man, but his desire to 'hacer mi gusto', to follow his whims at all costs, mark him as someone with little moral fibre, who would easily be ruled by passion. It is unfortunate, to say the least, that the woman with whom he has fallen in love should turn out to be his half-sister. Amón finds this out while attending a ball at which both he and Tamar are present. He is daunted, but, beneath the anonymity of a mask, tries to attract Tamar with his conversation. His manner becomes over-intimate, and he is hounded out of court. His love, however, remains a secret owing to his disguise.

The second act of the play opens with the information that Amón is suffering from an attack of melancholia. The hopeless nature

17. Tirso de Molina, La venganza de Tamar, Obras, vol III, p. 363a, Act I. Further references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

of his love, intensified as it is by the evils inherent in a relationship of this kind, act upon Amón's mind, filling it with despair. He is referred to in the stage directions as 'muy melancólico', but, while he is suffering from the usual disease of lover's melancholy, his illness is characterised by irascibility and violence bordering on madness, rather than the silent suffering of the noble galán. His servants, in attempting to please their master, are sorely tried:

Amón: ¿Qué es la causa de que callas  
tanto, Eliazer?

Eliazer: No sé cómo  
darte gusto; ya te enfadas  
con que hablando te diviertan;  
ya darte música te mandas,  
y a los que te hablan despides,  
y riñes a quien te canta. (p. 376a, Act II)

However irascible he may be, Amón's illness is referred to not as choler, but as melancholy, for the physical malaise argues a corruption of bile which must cause it to blacken. Another servant, Jonadab, assures his master that

esta tu melancolía  
tiene, señor, lastimado  
a toda Jerusalén (p. 376a, Act II).

The pity of the people surrounding Amón must have turned to annoyance and desperation as Amón, with his irascible whims, makes their lives a misery. The verbose Eliazer, who has been trying to divert his master with a comical denunciation of the medical profession, is told sharply to shut up; and complains

si callo, te doy pesar,  
en hablando, me amenazas.  
Dios te dé sosiego y gusto. (p. 377a, Act II)

An attempt is made both to alleviate Amón's melancholy and, in order that a complete cure may be effected, to discover its cause by

the introduction of musicians, who hint at the possibility of love in their soothing song. Amón's reaction is as violent as it is graphic:

Hola, Eliazer, Jonadab,  
echadlos por las ventanas,  
dadlos muerte, sepultadlos;  
haciendo ataúd las tablas  
de sus necios instrumentos  
tendrán sepultura honrada,  
como gusanos de seda  
en sus capullos. (p. 377b, Act II)

The musicians' reference to love as being the possible cause of Amón's melancholy touches him on the raw, and he vents his spleen - the traditional seat of melancholy - by shouting. He is obviously showing signs of true melancholy, in addition to those of adust choler, because reference is made to sadness and pallor. His Master of Arms, who has come in to give the prince his fencing lessons, says

vuelva el cielo, gran señor,  
los colores a tu cara,  
que la tristeza marchita  
con la salud que te falta. (p. 377b, Act II)

The weeping stage is soon past, however, and the Master of Arms receives short shrift as Amón turns on everyone with his foil. His burst of violent temper is followed by the total confusion typical of the melancholic:

Jonadab: Gran señor, sosiégate...  
Amón: ¿No estaba en la cama yo?  
¿Quién me ha cubierto de galas?  
Desnudadme, presto, presto.  
Eliazer: Tú te vistes y te levantas  
contra la opinión de todos.  
Amón: Mentís.  
Jonadab: Desnúdale y calla.  
Amón: ¿Yo sedas en vez de luto?  
Jonadab: ¡Lastimoso frenesí!  
... pues calla  
la ocasión de su tristeza,  
o Amón está loco o ama. (p. 378a-b, Act II)

At this stage of his illness, Amón's rational soul seems to be

putting up a fight for his integrity, by trying to divert Amón's passions from their true goal, Tamar, into the less dangerous channels of threats to his servants.

Amón's melancholy illness goes from bad to worse; he is solitary and sad. His father, David, is told of his heir's illness;

Salomón: No hay médico tan célebre que acierte  
la causa de tan gran melancolía;  
ni con música o juegos se divierte,  
ni va a la caza, ni admite compañía (p. 380b, Act II).

When next we see Amón, he has lost his irascible energy, and sits in sadness, with his head bowed. He is silent, only speaking to say that he wishes to be left alone. His sister Tamar is brought in to see whether she can comfort her brother, and, upon Amón's request, she pretends to be his lady-love, so that he can practise his sweet speeches on her. The unfortunate Tamar does not realise that, while she believes that she is merely humouring her brother, she is actually curing him. Because of the impossibility of their love, however, no lasting cure is possible. Amón has the choice between dying of frustrated love, or succumbing to his black passions and committing an evil sin. He chooses the latter course, and rapes his half-sister.

What makes him interesting, from a temperamental point of view, is his behaviour following the rape. During the first two acts we have seen Amón as an unusual person who comes to suffer from a severe case of frustrated love. This singularity, and his illness which gives rise to an excess of corrupt black bile, both befit his unsavoury role as incestuous rapist. He is a man of passion, whose lust clouds his judgement and leads him to commit the fatal act. Afterwards, the combination of his sense of evil and the long melancholy illness which preceded the rape cause him to experience the

typical melancholy passion of fear. Instead of feeling better once his unnatural impulse has been satisfied, Amón becomes worse. He throws Tamar out of his room, exclaiming 'vete, que me das temor' (p. 390, Act III). Whereas Tamar now becomes very active, zealously seeking vengeance, Amón slinks about in a cowardly fashion: he is described in one scene direction as 'temoroso'. Amón is always evil, in that he allows his reason to be overcome by his lust for Tamar, although he does put up a struggle before succumbing to temptation. His humours, always corrupted, change from the heat of adust choler, as illustrated by his bouts of violent temper and his passion for Tamar, to a cold melancholy characterised by fear of the great sin which he has committed.

### III. THE CHOLERIC CRIMINAL

At the beginning of this chapter I outlined the reason why any criminal tendencies could be traced back to an imbalance of the humours. While this fact is always implied in the works of Golden Age writers which deal with evil characters, the background humoral theory is not always specifically referred to. In the case of the choleric criminal, however, the humoral theory is so bound up with the characteristics of the criminal, that it emerges into the foreground.

The choleric criminal is a type who possesses in excess the passionate tendencies produced by yellow bile. One of these tendencies, that of lust, has been dealt with in the previous section. The other passion which is typical of the choleric type is that of anger, coupled with a desire for action; which, in the criminal, becomes ungovernable rage, and leads to barbarous actions.

Rojas Zorrilla, in addition to his play Lucrecia y Tarquino, wrote three works which deal with the same theme of the threefold struggle between good and evil, reason and passion, and the perfect humoral balance and the excessively choleric temperament. The subject-matter of these three plays is very similar, for they all tell of the tragic events which come about as a result of the hatred which a man has for his brother. The stories all contain versions of the Cain and Abel tale, and the two sons are personifications of good and evil. In two of the plays, No hay ser padre siendo rey and El Caín de Cataluña, the opposition is on purely moral grounds, and is a battle between the good and the evil man. Although Berenguel, the 'Cain' of Catalonia, is characterised by fits of unreasoning anger, not enough detail is given by Rojas to justify his classification as a definitely choleric type. Rojas' play entitled El más impropio verdugo por la más justa venganza provides a more interesting study both of the two sons and their father, and the struggle between them is more one between opposing personalities than an ethical battle. Rojas, through the protestations of the bad son, Alejandro, also introduces the problem of heredity, which is linked up with the theory of the humours.<sup>18</sup> An examination of the characters in this play will help us to understand the potentially tragic role of the choleric criminal.

The action of the play takes place in the midst of an old family feud, where there is naturally a great deal of opportunity for fighting. Alejandro tries to enter the room of Diana, a member of the family which is feuding with his own. His purpose is to seduce her,

18. See chapter 5 of this study, pp. 129-130.

but he is forcibly evicted from the house, and in the ensuing scrap, fights by mistake with his brother Carlos. Alejandro has no quarrel with Carlos at this stage, and his violence towards his brother is unnecessarily extreme:

... el alma  
quisiera también sacarte,  
siendo segundo Caín  
de Florencia a las edades  
venideras, por poder  
templar, Carlos, con matarte,  
la infernal cólera mía. 19

The 'infernal cólera' which is here referred to suggests not so much a transient furious rage, as a condition which must be purged by the shedding of innocent blood. This condition is one of excessive choler, which makes Alejandro perpetually and unreasonably furious: 'estoy/ sin mí de cólera' (p. 171b, Act I), he exclaims, after his failure to enter Diana's room. His choleric, unreasonable behaviour is associated with evil by his servant, Cosme, as he confirms that Alejandro is always prone to fury: 'sirvo/ a un duende, a un demonio' (p. 170a, Act I).

After his unsuccessful nocturnal adventures, Alejandro prepares to go to bed; but as it is already morning, the neighbourhood has become somewhat noisy. In several short scenes which serve to underline his irascible nature, Alejandro sends for an ironmonger, a school-master, and a town-crier, and orders them to quiet their noise.

By the end of the second act, the feud between Alejandro and Diana's family is in full swing. Alejandro and his father, César, are both thirsting for blood, while the reasonable Carlos tries to

19. Rojas Zorrilla, Comedias escogidas, p. 169b, Act I. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.



curb their obsession. Carlos, however, is unable to control his brother, who kills the scion of the opposing faction, and is subsequently clapped in irons. Alejandro's reaction to his fate is typical of the excessively choleric type; he has killed in anger, but this action, instead of assuaging this anger, has rather increased it. He curses his fate, and lays the blame for his action at another door:

reniego de mi paciencia,  
airado maldiga el cielo  
a quien por naturaleza  
me ha dado este ser que tengo;  
de mis venas el coral  
en pálido humor resuelto  
naciendo para lisonja  
fallezca para escarmiento. (p. 186b, Act III)

As far as Alejandro is concerned, nothing can be done to change his monstrous temperament. His excess of yellow bile, the 'pálido humor', was endowed by nature, and exacerbated by his upbringing:

los cielos maldigan  
el destilado alimento  
que en mi desdichada infancia  
infundió a mi vida esfuerzos. (p. 186b, Act III)

His father, César, urges his son to curb his furious passion in order that he may listen to the voice of reason: he orders his son 'témplate advertido y cuerdo' (p. 186, Act III), and is knocked over for his pains by his distempered son. However, when Carlos tries to intervene in the struggle, it is César who shouts furiously at him, underlining the point that Alejandro inherited his father's violent temperament. Alejandro takes upon himself the role of executioner, and tries to kill his father, as he explains, 'por darte el castigo/ de haberme dado este ser' (p. 187c, Act III). Alejandro is fully aware of the abnormal nature of his cruelty, violence, and blood-lust, but the decision he makes to kill his father is an evil one.

Because his reason is ruled by choleric passion, Alejandro is incapable of doing good, because he cannot distinguish between right and wrong. He "reasons" that, because his father endowed him with a choleric temperament, he is fully to blame for Alejandro's behaviour. In thinking this, Alejandro is committing the gross sin of denying his own free will and abdicating all responsibility. This is an erroneous conclusion, and Alejandro deserves to die. Carlos, in killing his own brother, is not committing a sin, but is putting excessive and terrible passion to the sword, and allowing the light of reason to prevail. He is indeed El más impropio verdugo por la más justa venganza.

Tirso, in two of his religious plays, entitled El condenado por desconfiado and La ninfa del cielo, traces the careers of two characters who can be classified under the heading of the choleric criminal type but who, owing to mitigating circumstances, are restored to a virtuous pattern of behaviour.

Enrico, of El condenado por desconfiado, is renowned as the most vicious man in the neighbourhood, and Paulo is understandably horrified when he is misled by the Devil into thinking that he will share the same fate, after death, as this bandit.<sup>20</sup> We first meet Enrico when he visits the house of his girl friend, Celia, only to find that two hidalgos, Octavio and Lisandro, are in the house. His reaction is typical of the excessively choleric type; he threatens extreme and

20. For studies of the character of Enrico, see T.E. May, 'El condenado por desconfiado'. 1. The Enigmas. 2. Anareto', BHS, 35 (1958), pp. 138-56; and the introduction to Daniel Roger's edition of El condenado por desconfiado, p. 9. In my viewing of Enrico as a choleric criminal, I cannot agree with Rogers when, in claiming that Enrico always has the audience's sympathy, he states that 'even his offstage drowning of the beggar is in response to a generous impulse'.

undiscriminating violence:

Enrico: vayanse enhoramala;  
que ivoto a Dios! si me enojo...  
Octavio: ¿Qué locura a aquésta iguala?  
Enrico: Que los arroje en el mar,  
aunque está lejos de aquí.  
Celia: Mi bien, por amor de mí  
Enrico: ¿Tú te atreves a llegar?  
Apártate, ivoto a Dios!  
que te dé una bofetada. 21

This outburst, we are led to understand, is not actually anger, but only a threat of what may come. Enrico warns Celia that 'tú harás algo que me incites/ a cólera' (p. 463a, Act I). His love of violence is greater than his love for Celia, and he shows himself capable of cruel action as well as angry words when he throws a beggar into the sea, just as he threatened to do to Octavio and Lisandro. Celia tries to remonstrate with him, calling him 'cruel', but Enrico characteristically tells her 'no me repliques;/ que haré contigo y los demás lo mismo' (p. 464b, Act I). The adust yellow bile which gives rise to Enrico's cruelty also endows him with courage, and Celia, far from resenting Enrico's treatment of her, does all she can to help him, and gives him her jewels, saying that 'todo está bien empleado/ en hombre que es tan valiente' (p. 464a, Act I).

Enrico is, in short, a man who is completely swayed by the passions caused by his humoral imbalance. He is therefore determined to do just as he likes: 'mi gusto tengo de hacer/ en todo quanto quisiere' (p. 464a, Act I). Enrico's salvation lies in the fact that one of the passions which controls his reason is a good one; for, when confronted with the Devil, his choleric boldness enables him to

21. Obras, vol II, p. 461b, Act I. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

stand up to this personification of evil, and hold to that which is good. Enrico is also possessed of a virtue which seems to function on an emotional, rather than rational level. When in the presence of his father, Enrico loses the choleric rage in his love for and sense of duty towards his parent. It is as if a curtain is temporarily raised and his mind, usually befuddled by angry passion, is suffused with a colder, more cowardly emotion. Rather than no longer wanting to kill, Enrico finds that he no longer dares to kill. This temporary change in personality, slight as it is, is enough to enable Enrico to achieve salvation after death.<sup>22</sup>

A woman who shares Enrico's passionate and cruel violence is the Countess Ninfa, protagonist of Tirso's religious play La ninfa del cielo. Ninfa's excessive choler, however, is not innate, but rather produced by circumstances. She is portrayed at the beginning of the play as a singular type of woman who shuns the court and leads a solitary existence in the country. Her pleasures are the courtly pursuits of hunting and music. She is not, at this stage, at all prone to the choleric passions of anger and violence which are to beset her during the second act of the play. These passions are engendered in her after she is deceived by the Duke Carlos, who, although already married, falls in love with Ninfa and beguiles her with false promises. He seduces her and runs away, leaving Ninfa, not in a mood of black despair, but in a furious rage. Ninfa's anger with and desire for revenge on Carlos are, in view of his treatment of her, perfectly justi-

22. See T.E. May, 'El condenado por desconfiado!' for a study of this aspect of Enrico's character, which is not directly concerned with the humours.

fied; she is not, however, justified in the nature of her revenge. Her anger passes all reasonable bounds, as she gathers about her a small army, and vents her spleen by declaring war on the male sex. Her anger becomes a cruel and merciless blood-lust which marks her as a criminal of the choleric type. Ninfa embarks upon wholesale slaughter, with a target of at least one hundred victims per day. Like Alejandro in El más impropio verdugo... and Enrico in El condenado por desconfiado, her anger is increased rather than assuaged by violence:

un risco, un escollo soy  
tanto, que llego a temer  
que han de venirme a faltar  
vidas que poder quitar,  
muertes que poder hacer;  
y de mi cólera fiera  
pienso, de crueldad armada,  
que no he de quedar vengada  
cuando todo el mundo muera. 23

Ninfa's initial anger with Carlos would lead to an upsurge of yellow bile to the heart which would help to foster that particular passion. More yellow bile would be manufactured, and would lead to a perpetual feeling of furious rage. As Ninfa made no effort to control her passions, the choler in her body would be self-perpetuating and would eventually affect her brain, preventing her from discriminating between right and wrong, and causing her to act like a choleric criminal, unjust and cruel. The unusual feature of this play is that such a criminal should be a woman, as one of the characters points out: for 'no hay quien de una mujer crea/ extremo tan inhumano' (p. 946b,

23. Tirso de Molina, La ninfa del cielo, in Obras, vol I, p. 945b. Further references to this play are given after quotations in the text.

Act II). Women are of naturally cold temperament, and more subject to fits of melancholy than hot choler.

Like Enrico, Ninfa is as violent in deed as in word; at least, in so far as men are concerned. She comes across a woman who has been hanged from a tree by an infuriated husband, and is determined to hang the perpetrator of the deed. The wife, who did not die, pleads for her husband, and he is spared. Ninfa's softness, however, is only directed towards women. On meeting two musicians, she orders them impatiently to sing:

Músico 2<sup>o</sup>:           Danos licencia  
                  para templar.  
Ninfa:               No cantéis  
                  si habéis de templar, pues veis  
                  que tengo poca paciencia;  
                  el uno cante no más (p. 951a-b, Act II).

The musician sings of Carlos' deceitful conduct towards the Countess Ninfa, and is immediately flung off the cliff for his pains.

Ninfa, after this last episode, evinces a desire to be left alone. This request, rather than throwing light on a possible cooling down of her adust choler and heralding the beginnings of a more melancholy humour, is more of a dramatic device, for, once alone, Ninfa has a religious experience which causes her to become as saintly as she was previously devilish. Because her sudden conversion stems from supernatural rather than physical causes, the study of Ninfa as a humorous character must necessarily end rather abruptly. <sup>24</sup>

24. For a parallel case of homicidal mania where the criminal turned saint, although only as he was being put to death for his crimes, see Lope de Vega, El Hamete de Toledo.

#### IV. THE EVIL TYRANT

The concept of the evil tyrant has already been touched upon with reference to Tarquino, the Roman usurper and tyrant portrayed in Rojas Zorrilla's play Lucrecia y Tarquino. There, it was mentioned that a tyrant was particularly felt to be an evil man who was ruled by his passions, and who indulged in an immoderate and therefore immoral mode of conduct. In the section on the struggle between reason and lust, several kings were mentioned whose tyranny took the form of lechery. This vice is not the only fault of tyranny, but only deals with one aspect of it. A bad ruler, in effect, is one who makes cruel use of his people, instead of caring for them; as Juan de Mariana explains in his comparison between a tyrant and a good ruler:

Es propio de un buen rey defender la inocencia, reprimir la maldad, salvar a los que peligran, procurar a la república la felicidad y todo género de bienes; mas no del tirano, que hace consistir su mayor poder en poder entregarse desenfrenadamente a sus pasiones, que no cree indecorosa maldad alguna, que comete todo género de crímenes, destruye la hacienda de los poderosos, viola la castidad, mata a los buenos, y llega al fin de su vida sin que haya una sola acción vil a que no se haya entregado. <sup>25</sup>

This particular view of the tyrant dwells on his essential bloodthirstiness and eagerness to satisfy his own desires which, in my view, are traits typical of the man of excessively bilious temperament.

Tirso's depiction of the character of Herod, in his play La vida y muerte de Herodes shows us an example, albeit limited, of this type of ruler. Most of the play would appear to be concerned with a

25. El Padre Juan de Mariana, Del rey y la institución real, Book I, ch. v, 'Diferencia entre el rey y el tirano', in Obras del Padre Juan de Mariana, 2 vols, BAE nos. 31 and 33 (Madrid 1950), vol II, p. 477b. Mariana cites the Emperor Tarquin as an example of a tyrant.

vindication of Herod's behaviour, for he is constantly thwarted by his brother, being deprived first of the woman he loves, and then of his kingdom. The final straw comes when he hears of the birth of a King, and Herod's pent-up fury bursts its bounds, as he proclaims his tyrannical blood-lust:

la vida un traidor me quita;  
la honra, una mujer leve;  
el reino, que aún no he gozado,  
un Niño que me atormenta.  
Hidrópico estoy de sangre... 26

Herod's overheated choler encourages him to indulge in an orgy of killings;

más sed tiene quien más bebe,  
dejad que me harte en ellas  
y aplaque este fuego ardiente,  
mueran todos, pues que muero (p. 1625a, Act III).

His very violence causes his own death; for as he embarks upon the killing of two babies, one of whom is his natural son, he dies of a furious fit: 'murió el tirano rabiando/ y ahogando los dos Abeles' (p. 1626b, Act III); and in a state of sin, which ensures his eternal damnation.

The concept of the evil tyrant brings us to a consideration of Calderón's plays La vida es sueño and La hija del aire. The moral and religious implications of the works, and the subtle imagery, especially of the former, have been expertly dealt with by critics, and in any case far outdistance the scope of this study; yet the humoral theory does have a part to play in the struggles of the protagonists between a predetermined and bestial existence, and a higher,

26. Obras, vol I, p. 1625a, Act III. The next references to this play will be given after quotations in the text.



virtuous mode of life, guided by reason.

Prince Segismundo, of La vida es sueño, and Semíramis, the Hija del aire, are both brought up in bestial conditions, prisoners because of the adverse horoscopes which accompanied their birth., According to the stars, they are both destined to become tyrants: that is, people whose unleashed passions cloud their reason, causing them to commit uncalled-for acts of cruelty and violence. The tension of the plays is provided in the clash between these deterministic forces and the temperament of the protagonist who struggles to assert his free will; and their interest derives from their diametrically opposed outcomes, for while Segismundo curbs his passionate tendencies with the voice of reason, Semíramis allows herself to be swayed by her cruel emotional tendencies.

The type of passions which are experienced temporarily by Segismundo and constantly by Semíramis are those caused by excessive and burnt yellow bile: in their cruelty and indiscriminating violence they are typical choleric types.

Segismundo's choleric temperament is briefly revealed during his short stay in the palace, where he admits of no reason beyond that of his own emotional desires, and is angry when crossed;

a mí  
todo eso me causa enfado.  
Nada me parece justo  
en siendo contra mi gusto. 27

He shows choleric cruelty by throwing the servant who remonstrated with him from a balcony into the sea. 28

27. Calderón, Obras, vol I, p. 229b, Act II.

28. Compare with the action of Ninfa, described earlier on in this chapter, of hurling the musician off the cliff. Also see ch 4, p. 112.

Whereas Segismundo is able to curb his passion, that of Semíramis subjugates her reason to the end, and she is portrayed as a strong, violent woman, of 'arrogante condición', whose ambition is relentless. At the end of the first part of La hija del aire, two hints are dropped with regard to her mental sickness. First, she is described as mad; the audience are told by the gracioso Cható 'ya ven que esta loca queda/ hecha reina'.<sup>29</sup> Because of her unbalanced humours, Semíramis is incapable of rational action; yet, for the time being, she is allowed to rule:

Semíramis dió en que había  
de reinar, y ya este día  
le van siguiendo su humor (p. 653a, Act III).

In the second part of La hija del aire, choleric emotions are added to the picture we have already formed, thanks to Chato's remarks, of an unbalanced temperament. Semíramis is a woman of action, and great courage, as befits her excessively choleric nature. She leads first her husband's armies into battle, and then her own; and in her criticism of her son's feminine cowardice, she throws into relief her own unnatural disposition:

yo mujer y él varón,  
yo con valor y él con miedo,  
yo animosa y él cobarde,  
yo con brío, él sin esfuerzo,  
vienen a estar en los dos  
violentados ambos sexos. (p. 659b, Act I)

Semíramis' choler reaches a dangerous level when she is asked to abdicate in favour of her son, Ninias:

¡Yo sin mandar! De ira rabio.  
¡Yo sin reinar! Pierdo el juicio.

29. Cálderón, Obras, vol I, p. 654b, Act III. Further references to this work are given after quotations in the text.

Etna soy, llamas aborto,  
volcán soy, rayos respiro (p. 664a, Act I),

and she becomes 'de la ira ciega' (p. 668a, Act II). Semíramis is unable to remain in the background for long, and her new cruelties towards her son and her truly tyrannical usurpation of the throne lead to her undoing.

#### V. THE MELANCHOLY CRIMINAL

The tyrant or the criminal, in most of the works of literature studied here, is a person who is characterised by an excess of yellow bile which causes him or her to act in a cruelly passionate, overheated manner. The cruel acts are perpetrated in a fit of choleric fury which is produced by too much bodily heat. There are, however, a few cases in which the malefactor has a cold, rather than a hot temperament; and the following two examples, of don Gutierre in Calderón's drama El médico de su honra, and of Rodrigo, in Lope's play El Último godo, serve to round off the concept of the evil person as a humorous type.

Calderón's famous play El médico de su honra describes a man, Gutierre, who kills his innocent wife in cold blood, thinking her to be dishonoured. While Gutierre is not specifically referred to in connection with the humours, the unnatural steps he takes to maintain an honourable front argue mental sickness arising from a humoral imbalance. The imagery of the play consists of a network of medical allusions which emphasise Gutierre's sickness even as he believes himself to be the "doctor". The method which he employs to kill his wife, who is bled to death by a professional blood-letter, is reminiscent of the picture we have of the choleric type as bloodthirsty

executioner. Gutierre's cruelty towards the innocent Mencía is indeed typical of the choleric criminal; as is his lack of judgement. He is, however, more dangerous than the usual choleric type, because his actions are more deliberate. Gutierre's decision to kill Mencía is not reached in a hurry nor, at first glance, does it appear unreasonable, for Gutierre employs logic and seems to be on the side of justice. It is, however, the wrong decision, and has been reached because Gutierre is swayed by the cold passions produced by perverted melancholia. According to Armstrong, the use of false argument to gain one's own ends entails the subjugation of reason to the emotions, particularly where ambition is concerned; for 'in the mind of the ambitious man, the chief intellectual faculties of the soul, reason and will, are dominated by his passion. False arguments therefore come easily to his mind and he employs casuistry to justify his regal aspirations'.<sup>30</sup> Gutierre's preoccupation is not so much with usurpation of the throne, as with the maintaining of his personal honour, at the cost of innocent lives and his own integrity. His conduct seems to be more inexcusable than that of most murderers, because of the deliberate and cold-blooded manner in which it is executed; although in fact his mind, for all its seeming reason, is corrupted by the same evil humours that lead to unthinking violence.

Those who have studied Shakespeare's Macbeth will be familiar with the crushing feelings of guilt which follow the cruel usurpation of power and subsequent blood-letting. This feeling of cold melancholy has two causes. First, the overheated and excessive humours

30. Armstrong, p. 178.

which clouded the reason and enabled the person to commit foul deeds in the first place eventually follow the inevitable course of nature and cool down. The criminal temperament therefore changes from one of adust choler, characterised by fury and violence, to one of cold adust melancholy, which is accompanied by unfounded terrors, and visions caused by the rising of melancholic vapours to the brain. The terrors which beset a malefactor are, in the second place, caused by his knowledge of his guilt, and the certainty that retribution for his sins will inevitably follow. In this case, his frightening visions are caused by a premonition of death and disaster, as well as putrid black vapours.

The tyrant king of Rojas Zorrilla's play Morir pensando matar interprets a premonition of his death as a melancholy mood:

melancólico, triste y cuidadoso  
ajeno de reposo  
esta noche me veo, 31

he exclaims, shortly before he is murdered.

Lope's play El Último godo is a version of the events which lead up to the Moorish invasion of Spain, and is imbued with melancholy premonitions. Rodrigo, the king, is carried away by lust and rapes La Cava, setting in course the train of events which culminate in the invasion. Once his passion is spent, Rodrigo's ardour cools, and his choleric emotions are replaced by the melancholy ones of guilt and fear. He experiences the typically melancholy symptoms of bad dreams, violent terror, sadness, and the desire for solitude:

31. Rojas Zorrilla, Morir pensando matar, Clásicos Castellanos (Madrid 1961), p. 72.

salgan Rodrigo, con la espada desnuda, la Reina teniéndole...

Rodrigo: Dejad que le dé la muerte...

Reina: ¿Adonde vais de esa suerte? 32  
¿Vos no veis que os engañéis?

Rodrigo is calmed, and the queen exerts herself to rouse him from his melancholy:

Reina: sentaos; ¿Queréisme jugar algo?

Rodrigo: No estoy para hablar.

Teodoredo: Los músicos han venido.

Reina: ¿Queréis que canten?

Rodrigo: Cantad.

Reina: Decid algo de alegría.

Rodrigo: Al triste, la compañía es la mejor soledad. (p. 370a, Act II)

Rodrigo is not to be coaxed from his black emotions, and retribution soon follows upon his lechery. 'Inwardly tormented by passion and the pangs of conscience, outwardly existing in constant fear and misery, and suddenly subject to a violent death, the tyrant must nevertheless expect still heavier punishments hereafter. He is eternally damned'. 33

32. BAE, Obras, vol 16, p. 369b, Act II.

33. Armstrong, p. 175.

## CONCLUSION

Aware of the impossibility of such a task, I have not sought, in this work, to take into account every book and every point, let alone every example, which is pertinent to a study of the humours in Spanish Golden Age literature. I have, instead, attempted to make a survey of selected works which, when viewed as a whole, allows us to gain an idea of the various ways in which the theory of the humours was incorporated into works of literature.

One of the conclusions which can be drawn from this survey is that there are both points of contact and points of difference between the various authors in the treatment of the theory. Where the authors coincide and where they differ can be seen by viewing, briefly, the areas of the theory they each cover.

Cervantes, son of a doctor, shows a knowledge of works such as Huarte's Examen de ingenios and Cortes' Phisonomía, as has already been noted. As far as the Quijote is concerned, Cervantes seems to have been aware of the theory of the humours with reference to madness, illness, appearance and behaviour. This knowledge of the humoral theory and his portrayal of don Quijote as a melancholy type does not supply an all-embracing explanation of the book, but forms one of the many strands which make up its complexity and which helps our understanding of the novel as a whole. Cervantes, indeed, seems to have a special interest in the causes and results of melancholy. In the pages of his works, we see melancholy, sometimes taking the form of insanity, sometimes illness, or deep sadness, caused by too much reading, the taking of a poison, or love. The melancholics range from the comic to the sad. In the cases of melancholy caused by love, good health and happiness is usually subordinated by the sufferer to honour

or to the wishes of others; the love-sick shepherds of La Galatea, and Cardenio in Don Quijote are prepared to die rather than assert themselves and speak out; and have to have their problems solved by their friends. The case of Basilio is an exception here.

In the works of Lope, honour, again, often takes precedence over personal health and happiness. Love-sick people are often depicted as becoming ill, insane, or dying because they cannot tell of their love. On other occasions, Lope portrays a less scrupulous hero, who has no hesitation in placing his own interests above those of his friends and relations. This type of hero feigns madness, and so long as there is no other serious pretender to the hand of the beloved, he gets his own way: all is fair in love and war. Lope has the symptoms and cures for love melancholy well defined and uses this subject matter, if not frequently, at least noticeably. He is interested in the notion of ingenio, the passions vis-a-vis the humours, and the dramatic possibilities of madness. On the whole, Lope takes these subjects lightly, but on one or two occasions he explores the more serious notions of melancholy, premonition and guilt.

Moreto, like Lope, is light hearted and knowledgeable in his treatment of the humours. He shows his familiarity with the faculties of the brain and their various properties in El parecido en la corte, and deals with the notion of feigned madness in El licenciado vidriera, which is closer to Lope's plays than to Cervantes' novela ejemplar. He can also treat the subject of love melancholy with seriousness, as he does in his version of the classical Antiochus and Seleuco story, where he pays close attention to details of symptoms and cures. As far as this study is concerned, however, Moreto's characterization of



Diana, in El desdén, con el desdén, which I have interpreted in the light of a preponderance of the melancholy humour, outshines all else.

In the works of Tirso de Molina we have a definite split between light-hearted comedy and the more serious plays. In the light-hearted comedies, Tirso uses his knowledge of medicine and the humoral theory as a dramatic device; building up a situation between fake doctors and feigning patients which is humorous-funny rather than humorous-temperamental. At other times, he depicts love melancholy in its genuine form, as in Cómo han de ser los amigos, and his recordings of the illness' symptoms and cure, and his description of the hero as an honourable sufferer are very similar in detail to those in some plays by Lope and Moreto, and some of the characters in Don Quijote. In other, more serious plays, however, Tirso concentrates on the individual rather than the situation, and portrays the tyrant, or the choleric criminal, as a person whose humoral imbalance has led to singular and passionate, rather than reasonable, behaviour. Tirso's interest in the link between the humours and character manifests itself also in plays concerning contrasting temperamental types, and in comments on the links between the humours and ingenio, and the humours and nationality.<sup>1</sup> The work of Tirso has provided one of the richest

1. The Spanish, French, and Portuguese are all choleric, according to Tirso: one character comments that 'no para esperanzas largas/ tiene flema un español' (La fingida Arcadia, Obras, vol II, p. 1396a, Act I); and another hero is introduced as 'un don Pedro de Castilla,/ en la cólera francés' (Amor y celos hacen discretos, Obras, vol I, p. 1531b, Act I). Similarly, the spurned don Antonio replies to his lady Serafina's accusation that he is of choleric disposition (sois, not estais, is used) by explaining that 'es condición de Portugués' (El vergonzoso en palacio, Obras, vol I, p. 486a, Act III). Jews, on the other hand, are of timorous and therefore probably melancholic disposition. The Jewish doctor Ismael of Tirso's play La prudencia en la mujer wonders at his hesitation in going to poison the young king: '-¿De qué temblais, miedo frío?/ Mas no fuera yo judío,/ a no temer y temblar' (Obras, vol III, p. 920a, Act II).

and most varied sources for my study of the humours in literature.

A varied treatment of the medical notion of the humours is again seen in the works of Calderón. Sometimes, the melancholy humour is spoofed by the gracioso, who tells us that to be melancholy has lost its cachet and become positively vulgar. In several of his plays Calderón's honourable but secretive heroines use melancholy as a smoke-screen behind which they can hide their shame and spin their webs of intrigue. In these plays, Calderón lists a few symptoms of melancholy, but he seems to be specially fond of distinguishing melancholy from sadness, again in order for the heroine to confuse the other characters, feigning the melancholy in order to indulge in sadness. In the serious and tragic plays, a humoral imbalance is the cause of the bestial behaviour of Calderón's great criminals and tyrants.

The serious plays of Rojas Zorrilla, like those of Calderón and Tirso, are concerned with the humours, for a humoral imbalance accounts for criminal behaviour. Rojas Zorrilla, in these plays, concentrates on lust and the unnatural hatred of one brother for another. These plays are, in fact, more pertinent to my study of the humours in literature than his figura plays; for the figuras, while they are like Ben Jonson's humorous characters in their singular and ludicrous behaviour, cannot strictly be classified as any one particular humorous type.

There are not many indications in the plays of Alarcón to show that he is particularly interested in the theory of the humours; yet the knowledge is there in his mentions of choleric people hurling other people off balconies, and of melancholy types standing silent with downcast eyes. Don Domingo, until his transformation, is surely

a phlegmatic personality. Like the spoofs in some of the plays by Tirso, Lope, Moreto, and Calderón, Alarcón has a detached, cynical and superficial approach to the humoral theory and to the problems of melancholy lovers which, in our brief glimpses of it, makes for very enjoyable reading. The condescending explanation of the courtier to the country bumpkin that no-one in Madrid even becomes ill through love, let alone dying, is memorable. The humours have come out of the action of the play and into conversation.

In his treatment of the humours, no one author is completely isolated from his fellows. There is variety, however; for the theory of the humours is used in plays that vary in tone from the lightest slapstick to the darkest tragedy. The fact that the humours account for character, then, is really only part of the story. The humours also give rise to jokes, both in conversation and situation. The phenomenon of lover's melancholy, especially, helps to create confusion. Dominating humours give rise to funny or serious situations, and to good or bad people: in short, they account for a great deal.

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